Contemporary Psychology

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VOLUME VII • NUMBER 11

Page 393 **The American College: A Psychological and Social Interpretation of the Higher Learning**, by Nevitt Sanford (Ed.)
Reviewed by R. W. Tyler and J. G. Darley

396 **The Adolescent Society: The Social Life of the Teenager and Its Impact on Education**, by J. S. Coleman, with the assistance of J. W. C. Johnstone and Kurt Jonassohn
Reviewed by W. W. Wattenberg

397 **Tests in Print: A Comprehensive Bibliography of Tests for Use in Education, Psychology, and Industry**, by O. K. Buros (Ed.)
Reviewed by Harold Seashore

398 **The Vocational Interests of Non-professional Men**, by K. E. Clark
Reviewed by Robert Callis

399 **Boys in White: Student Culture in Medical School**, by H. S. Becker, Blanche Geer, E. C. Hughes and A. L. Strauss
Reviewed by George Saslow

401 **CP SPEAKS**
By the Editor

402 **Social Structure and Personality: A Casebook**, by Y. A. Cohen
Personality and Social Interaction, by R. H. Dalton
Reviewed by D. R. Miller

406 **Thought and Language**, by L. S. Vygotsky (Edited and translated by Eugenia Hanfmann and Gertrude Vakar)
Reviewed by Susan M. Ervin

410 **Racial Themes in Southern Rhodesia: The Attitudes and Behavior of the White Population**, by C. A. Rogers and C. Frantz
Reviewed by T. F. Pettigrew

(Continued on inside cover)

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CONTENTS—*continued*

411 **Personality Adjustment,** by H. C. Smith
Adjustment and Personality, by R. S. Lazarus
Reviewed by R. L. Cutler

414 **Growing Old: The Process of Disengagement,** by Elaine Cumming and W. E. Henry
Reviewed by G. L. Maddox

416 **Clinical Process** by E. K. Beller
Reviewed by J. J. Conger

417 **Report Writing in Psychology and Psychiatry** by J. T. Huber
Reviewed by Mary Alice White

418 **Group Psychoanalysis: Theory and Technique,** by Norman Locke
Reviewed by G. H. Frank

420 **Social Psychology: A Study of Mind in Society,** by V. V. Akolkar
Reviewed by G. V. Coelho

421 **Documents of Gestalt Psychology,** by Mary Henle
Reviewed by R. B. MacLeod

422 **An Anatomy for Conformity,** by E. L. Walker and R. W. Heyns (Eds.)
Reviewed by G. S. Lesser

424 **The Work of the Counselor (Second Edition),** by Leona E. Tyler
Reviewed by John Rothney

425 **The Psychotherapy of Stuttering,** by D. A. Barbara (Ed.)
Reviewed by L. D. Goodstein

426 **Pavlovian Conference on Higher Nervous Ability,** by N. S. Kline (Ed.)
Reviewed by D. W. Lauer

428 **The Religious Factor: A Sociological Study of Religion's Impact on Politics, Economics and Family Life,** by Gerhard Lenski
Reviewed by John Harding

430 **Determinants of Infant Behavior,** by B. M. Foss (Ed.)
Reviewed by H. W. Stevenson

432 **The Acquaintance Process, by** T. M. Newcomb
Reviewed by Harold Proshansky

434 **Nebraska Symposium on Motivation,** by M. R. Jones (Ed.)
Reviewed by Larry Stein and E. J. Capaldi

436 **Prenatal Influences,** by M. F. Ashley Montagu
Reviewed by G. W. Meier

437 **INSTRUCTIONAL MEDIA**
Edited by A. A. Lumsdaine
Three Books on Programming, *Reviewed by* J. B. Carroll

439 **List of Books Received**

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Behavioral Science Goes to College

Nevitt Sanford (Ed.)

The American College: A Psychological and Social Interpretation of the Higher Learning. New York: Wiley, 1962. Pp. xvi + 1084. $10.00.

Nevitt Sanford, who contributed to and edited this heavy book, received his Master's Degree at Columbia University and then went to Harvard where, in and around Harry Murray's Clinic, he came down with what appears to be a chronic dual involvement with 1) research on personality and 2) the theory and practice of psychoanalysis. Since his 1934 PhD, he has been with a sometime simultaneity, a prison psychologist (optional attendance), a researcher, a director of research, a psychoanalytic therapist, a teacher, a personality theorist and, during the six years he was directing the Mellon Studies at Vassar and holding a faculty appointment at the University of California at Berkeley, a coast-to-coast commuter. In 1961 he moved across the bay from Berkeley to Stanford University where he is Professor of Psychology and Education and Director of the new Institute for the Study of Human Problems. He shares two parents and one name with a younger, noisier, larger and very rivalrous psychologist who spends a lot of time on CP.

Ralph Tyler, the first reviewer, was selected by CP's *consultative process to view the book from the standpoint of an educator and an educational administrator. Dr. Tyler received his PhD in Education from the University of Chicago and has received honorary degrees from assorted other institutions. Since his first involvement with education he has taught at the Pierre, South Dakota High School, at the Universities of Nebraska and North Carolina, at Ohio State University and at the University of Chicago. From 1948 to 1953 he was Dean of Chicago's Division of Social Sciences. Then he moved to California to direct the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, where he has been ever since, except for those frequent occasions upon which in other places and in other capacities, he worries about education or behavioral science or people.*

The second reviewer, John Darley, was selected to serve as the hardboiled research-oriented commentator. Although he can and has enacted other roles, and with great success, this one, as a number of psychologists well know, he can carry off with great brilliance and often with such skilled grumpiness that not all who know him ever see the warmth and idealism that lie large immediately beneath the relatively limited square-inchage of his exterior. At present, Dr. Darley is professor—plain professor—of psychology at the University of Minnesota. He has been at Minnesota, except for a three year stint on a bureaucratic job in Washington and another earlier spell in the Navy, since the middle thirties. In addition to teaching and research there, he served for nine years as Director of the Student Counseling Bureau and for twelve as Associate Dean of the Graduate School. For six years he edited the Journal of Applied Psychology *and for three* The American Psychologist. *His first book, done with E. G. Williamson was* Student Personnel Work *(1936). His latest, with Theda Hagenah, is* Vocational Interest Measurements. *(1955)* (CP, *Sep. 1956.* **1**, *277.) His next one now in the mill, will be* Higher Education: Promise and Performance.

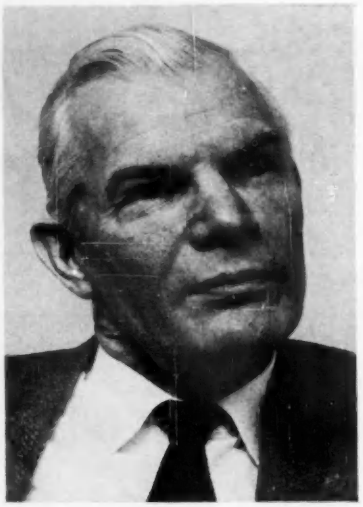
Reviewed by RALPH W. TYLER

THE study of American colleges and universities as social institutions has became a recognized and significant area of inquiry by social scientists from the several disciplines. The Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues has rendered an important service by arranging for the preparation and publication of this book which presents not only reports of current research activities but also discusses the role of such research in the development and reformation of American colleges. Nevitt Sanford has skillfully organized the contributions of twenty-nine other authors as well as writing four of the twenty-nine chapters himself. The result is an impressive picture of progress being made in the development of theory, in the construction of techniques and in-

struments of investigation and in the collection and interpretation of data. The book clearly demonstrates the usefulness to the social scientist of conducting studies on higher education as a means of obtaining new and significant data, which can lead both to the testing of existing generalizations and to the formulation of new insights into social processes and structures. It suggests, but does not demonstrate, the value of these studies to the faculty and the administration in improving higher education. Thus far the research has contributed significantly to our knowledge of the differential characteristics of student bodies, of college environments, of academic procedures, of student group influences, of student achievement and of institutional adaptations to the larger society, but there is little evidence yet that policies and practices of the colleges are being greatly influenced by social research. Sanford argues forcefully that this type of research is an essential guide to develop colleges which will be truly effective as educational institutions.

Disciplined inquiry into the structure and functioning of American higher education has not been under way long enough nor has it gone far enough to answer critical practical questions regarding the appropriateness and attainability of educational objectives, the relative efficacy of different kinds of curricula and academic procedures for different kinds of students, the efficient use of faculty resources, the values and limitations of different arrangements for student living. Nevertheless, administrators and faculty members can be greatly aided in discharging their responsibilities by reading this book. It helps to delineate the complex landscape of higher education, indicating and relating factors likely to be overlooked. It employs concepts from anthropology, psychology and sociology which are not commonly used either in college planning or in attacking difficult educational problems. They are however, concepts which can be helpful in analysis, and in projecting possible courses of action.

The book also helps the administrator and teacher to appreciate the importance of sound theory in guiding



NEVITT SANFORD

college reform. For example, in Chapter 11, Katz and Sanford show the practical value of theory in their discussion of the curriculum in the perspective of the theory of personality development. Fishman treats the problem of student selection in a way that points to the need of a better theory. Over the years, the largest number of studies of college students have been made by psychologists seeking to predict academic success. Fishman's critical review of these studies carefully documents the fact that they have become a blind alley so far as providing significant understanding of the problems of selection and guidance of students is concerned. He outlines the value of the growing theory of individual-environment relationships for giving direction and meaning to studies which have become so barren. Christian Bay proposes a social theory of higher education as a whole. Many other chapters suggest theoretical perspectives which provide the basis for planning the research and interpreting the findings.

THIS is a long book, more than 1000 pages, its unity lies largely in its conception, organization and editing. The chapters are written in different styles and present a variety of perspectives. It cannot be read as a treatise on higher education, nor as an encyclopedia of facts and generalizations. To be read with profit by the faculty member or administrator, I would suggest concentrating on a chapter at a time, or at most, on one of the eight parts, thus providing time to relate the concepts, the findings and the ideas presented to one's own experience, testing their relevance, usefulness and universality in this way. I found that this procedure opened up for me many avenues for thought and observation. Ultimately, no doubt, some of the material of this book will be found more valid and more helpful than the rest, but all of it has potential for broadening and deepening our understanding of the American college.

The current interest in research on higher education can be compared with a similar interest in the 1930's in the study of secondary education. Then the American high school was recognized as the critical institution requiring conceptual and practical modification to meet the great social changes dramatized by the depression. With strong support from the Rockefeller General Education Board a score of Commissions and Committees were established such as the American Youth Commission, the Commissions on the Relation of School and College, on the Secondary School Curriculum, and on Human Relations. These commissions sponsored studies of youth and of the high school by anthropologists, psychiatrists, psychologists, and sociologists. Among the social scientists involved then were John Dollard, Lloyd Warner, Allison Davis, Erik Erikson, Harold Jones, Fritz Redl, Bruno Bettelheim, Robert Havighurst, Hilda Taba, Lee Cronbach, Chester Harris and Benjamin Bloom. These investigations provided both new grist for the social sciences and new intellectual bases for understanding and operating secondary schools. Now, the American college is in a similar critical situation. On its more effective functioning hinges many of our personal and social aspirations. I believe that the strong development of social research on American higher education can build upon the earlier work on second-

ary education and the recent studies of the colleges to produce knowledge and understanding invaluable for the task which faces us.

Reviewed by JOHN G. DARLEY

THIS collection of essays, personal documents, reviews of research, and research commentaries comprises twenty-nine chapters, grouped into eight major parts; thirty authors participated in the endeavor. The volume was sponsored by the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues. The editor acknowledges his debt to the Mellon Foundation and to Vassar College: "Ten of the chapters . . . . have been based in considerable part upon, or inspired by, observations made at Vassar . . . ." Part I deals with higher education as a social problem and a field of study; Part II considers the entering student; Part III reviews academic procedures and faculty roles or functions; Part IV focusses on the student society and culture; Part V reviews a segment of the literature on student performance; Part VI discusses student-faculty interactions and relations; Part VII reviews the effects of college education during and after the college years; Part VIII is concerned with higher education in its historic and social context; an epilogue by the editor outlines research and policy problems in the field.

Slightly over 1000 references, many times replicated, are cited; 766 of them appeared in and after 1950. Ten percent of these from the last decade are citations of Reisman, Sanford, Jacobs, the two Knapp surveys, Ruml, Caplow and McGee, and *The Authoritarian Personality*. This selection appears to constitute the canon and the doctrine of the volume's sub-title.

In addition to the ten chapters based on the Vassar project, several others deal primarily with private institutions or the data therefrom. At one point. the editor regrets that the volume is primarily addressed to "education in the under-graduate liberal arts college alone" (p. 466); several of the chapters are fortunately not so restricted, since the public education sector of the enterprise has its own proud traditions of experiment and change, and a literature of considerable significance. But the overall tone and impact are those of concern with an educational elite.

This book cannot be reviewed as a closely-reasoned, sequentially developed presentation of a central theme or body of knowledge. At least four themes are interwoven throughout the fabric of the chapters. There is the first theme, introduced, developed, and repeated by the editor and some of his authors, that "American colleges are failing rather badly" (p. 2); this runs through the introduction, the first three chapters, and Chapters 12, 27, and 29; a corrective for this failure is to be found in the contributions of the behavioral sciences, carrying out their functions of research, consultation, and reform. A second theme includes the neo-analytic formulation of the three systems of personality: primitive impulses; primitive conscience; and reality functioning. The goals of liberal education then become freeing of impulse, enlightenment of conscience, and differentiation and integration of ego or reality functioning. The elaboration of this theme, and major or minor variations on it, takes place in Chapters 6, 9, 10 and 11.

A third theme is found in the review and analysis of a body of psychometric literature, covering both cognitive and non-cognitive measures, sometimes within a framework of developmental theory from the age of 18 onward, and concerned with defining the characteristics of college students. Chapters 4, 5, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 24, and 25 are in this domain.

A fourth theme can be traced from social group and role theory, and organization theory, together with some cultural anthropological variations. Chapters 7, 13, 15, 21, and 28 may be so characterized, as may Chapters 14 and 22 as purely anthropological exercises.

A detailed review of the literature on procedures and techniques of teaching, an historical essay on higher education in a changing society, and an essay on student freedom and authority at two different periods in an experimental college for women remain unclassifiable in the four themes set forth here.

It may very well be the case that these four themes will constitute the organized bodies of knowledge to be brought over from the behavioral sciences in the service of higher education. But the authors, by frequent repetition of the standard theme that much more research and much better research is needed, do not reassure the reader that the enterprise should be given in charge to the behavioral scientists.

THIS brings us to a consideration of the reader. At least three classes of readers may be assumed: the psychologist seeking information on development and applications of social and personality theory in the setting of higher education; the administrator in higher education who, not always or necessarily the Philistine implicitly depicted here, tries to control the pluralistic storms of the culture in which he operates; the intellectually curious faculty colleague not versed in the behavioral sciences but sympathetic to them and not unversed in epistemology.

With some brilliant exceptions, it is likely that no one of these three classes of readers will feel that the volume fulfills its own stated objectives, either on the dust jacket or in the introductory and connective chapters. The psychologist will find little that is both new and valid; the administrator will find it difficult to see clearly the solutions proposed or the ways to implement them; the faculty colleague may not find the connected discourse that could make the case for the behavioral sciences. That it is "a splendid beginning," in the words of the sponsor (p. 5), represents only one possible criterion for judgment.

The fault may lie in the editorial process. In the strict sense, this volume has not been edited; it has been assembled. It is therefore uneven in quality, sometimes repetitious, occasionally trivial. With tighter focus, clearer definition of themes, its merits and timeliness would have emerged. But the social critic and social observer often obscure the social scientist. The enterprise of higher education needs the best that its own products can give it.

Social Climates in High School

James S. Coleman, with the assistance of **John W. C. Johnstone** and **Kurt Jonassohn**

The Adolescent Society: The Social Life of the Teenager and its Impact on Education. New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1961. Pp. xvi + 368. $6.95.

Reviewed by WILLIAM W. WATTENBERG

James F. Coleman, senior author of the present book, is a sociologist who has a Columbia PhD and is now an Associate Professor in the Department of Social Relations at Johns Hopkins University. Those who assisted Dr. Coleman with the book are John W. C. Johnstone who took a Master's Degree in Communications at the University of Chicago and is now supervisor of audience research for the Canadian Broadcasting System, and Kurt Jonassohn, who has a Master's Degree from McGill University and holds a position as personnel analyst for the Royal Canadian Air Force. The reviewer is William Wattenberg, who did his predoctoral work in psychology under Goodwin Watson at Teachers College, Columbia. Before World War II he taught at Northwestern University and at the Chicago Teachers College. After the War he moved to Wayne State University, where he stayed, and where he is now professor of educational psychology. He has done his research and his writing in the borderland that is claimed by both psychology and sociology. His research articles on delinquency, growing out of his work with the Youth Bureau of the Detroit Police Department, have turned up in both sociological and psychological journals. He is the author of The Adolescent Years *(1955) and, with Fritz Redl, of* Mental Hygiene in Teaching *(1959). He now heads the Delinquency Control Training Center at Wayne State University.*

THE REALIZATION that educational practices in present-day schools are far from ideal has resulted in a search for areas in which research may uncover the bases for substantial improvement. One such field of study is suggested by the widespread observation that anti-intellectual values, assimilated from the culture, keep many students from concentrating energies on academic pursuits. Motivating work in this area is the hope that if we could but detect and describe the specific processes mediating such phenomena it might be possible to devise measures to counteract cultural forces that now are obstacles.

The Adolescent Society is an effort to provide detailed evidence on the operation of one group of cultural forces in American high schools. It is an important and imaginative pioneering endeavor.

The book tackles the task by setting up the assumption that adolescents in the United States have a distinctive culture and that an examination of the dimensions and the reward structure of this culture will tell us a great deal about the ways in which students may be expected to behave and what would need to be done to secure a change for the better. To bring to light the necessary facts, an ingenious study was undertaken to describe and compare the value structures of adolescent society in ten different high schools, and to relate these differences to differences in student attitudes and behavior.

The bulk of the data used in the book are drawn from replies by students to 175-item questionnaires, but there were also other instruments. These included a 31-item supplementary questionnaire addressed to students, a 120-item questionnaire to parents, and a 78-item questionnaire to teachers. To the results of all these are added material from interviews and on-the-scene observations. Only a small proportion of these voluminous data are used in the book.

As is inevitable with any novel approach a number of serious difficulties appear. Time and again a critical reader will wonder about interpretations placed upon the data, especially when cause-and-effect implications are drawn. For example, in the chapter titled "Beauty and Brains as Paths to Success," the operational definition of beauty is that the name of the particular girl was mentioned by two or more other girls in replying to the question, "Of all the girls in your grade, which girl do boys go for most?" To be a "top beauty," a girl had to receive seven or more mentions. This attribute was considered to have been "rewarded" if the same girl's name appeared in response to questions as to friendships or membership in the "leading crowd." The authors do not consider the possibility that such concurrent listings might be little more than the familiar halo effect.

More serious, perhaps, is the fact that at a number of points if the data were taken at face value they would appear to call into question some of the book's assumptions.

One of the key questions used in the questionnaire called for a listing of the members of "the leading crowd." Perhaps the finding most likely to be cited from this study grows out of the excellent chapter displaying the sociograms for the five small high schools. Each yearly class has its own almost entirely segregated structure. No school has a single elite recognized as such. In the one large school for which data are given, among a student body of 1,935, not a single boy or girl is mentioned as being in the leading crowd by as many as ten fellow students! If true, this fact would seem to require reexamination of the assumption that the school student body is an integrated society with an elite and a potent reward structure.

The book finds that the social climates of the several schools do differ in respect to the proportion of students named by others as friends and as members of the "leading crowd" who also had been named as best students on the

one hand or as athletes or as popular on the other. As indicated later, these differences had little systematic relationship to the students' expenditure of energy on homework. One of the schools where scholastic success seemed to confer least social reward had the highest proportion saying they planned to go to college.

The discrepancies between data and theoretical formulation are handled in a fashion that has been sanctioned by the example of many eminent psychologists, ranging in viewpoint from learning theorists to psychoanalysts: those facts which support the formulation are convincingly marshalled; those which seemingly contradict are either explained away or else the position is modified, *ex post facto*, to accommodate them.

ALTOGETHER the authors originally stated eight major hypotheses concerning the effects of two dimensions of the adolescent cultures in the schools. There were five effects hypothesized for variation of the cultures along a monolithic-pluralistic dimension; these are dealt with in a footnote in the appendix which says, "As mentioned earlier, the status systems were found to be far more complex than this, and in fact there was far less variation along this dimension than had been hoped." The fates of two of the other three hypotheses, related to a value-conflict value-consistency dimension is hardly better. The data on one are recognized as inconclusive except for one school and the data on a second are touched upon only briefly and then for only one school. The third is the subject of a chapter.

The last-mentioned deals with the key assumption that the value systems of the school cultures would be of major import for scholastic activities. An extended quotation will convey both a portion of the findings and the book's handling of them:

"Two factors that might at first seem highly dependent upon the social climate of the school are the amount of homework that a teen-ager does and his intentions about attending college. Yet both of these matters apparently have their primary sources elsewhere. The amount of homework done depends largely on two things: upon the amount of homework assigned by the teachers, and upon family background. College-going apparently depends more upon the aspiration a student's family has for him to attend college, and upon their interest in seeing him dependent upon them for four more years. However, the climate apparently has some effect—a peculiarly selective one—upon studying and upon college intentions . . . .

"These differences may be due to a different relationship of girls and boys to the community in large and small towns. In the small town, boys were far more likely than girls to say they would take a job in the same town rather than in a different one, if the jobs were equal . . . The girls far more often want to leave town. The dynamics of the process are unclear, but it is clear that girls want far more to leave town than do the boys. It is likely that many boys can follow in their father's occupation, business, or farm. In the city or suburb, following in parental footsteps is not so easy, since the father works away from home, often outside the community. Thus, the city or suburb has little to offer a boy unless he has formal training, and can get a job by virtue of training through bureaucratic channels. In contrast, the girls' 'career chances,' that is, their chances of making a good marriage, are more augmented by college for the small-town girl than for the city girl. For a small-town girl, college expands the range of boys from whom she can find a mate more than it does for the large-school girl, who already has a larger selection in her school and community.

"These interpretations are only suggestive, for the evidence to test them is not available. The present evidence does suggest, however, that there are important differences in the relation of boys and girls to a small town, and that these differences vanish or reverse in the city.

"Altogether, the effects of the climates on college-going and studying seem less than one might a priori expect. When there *are* effects, they seem most pronounced for the girls . . ." (Emphases in original)

The limitations of this book cannot reduce its significance in opening new research territory. As other workers follow this initial foray they will want to make their own decisions as to the probable utility of specific conceptual tools and data-gathering techniques. *The Adolescent Society* should prove invaluable to them.

The book does an excellent job of making available the facts which other careful workers will want to have. An appendix contains, in unchanged form, the original formulation of the problem and the circumspectly worded hypotheses. The graphic displays of data are packed with information.

A scouting expedition in any field has its hazards. The authors of this book deserve praise both for their courage in inaugurating a promising type of research and for the ingenuity with which they attempted to solve a bewildering array of problems. The U. S. Office of Education is to be congratulated for its most unbureaucratic daring in supporting a hopeful and novel line of educational research.

Facts and Exhortations on Tests

Oscar Krisen Buros (Ed.)

Tests in Print: A Comprehensive Bibliography of Tests for Use in Education, Psychology, and Industry. Highland Park, N. J.: The Gryphon Press, 1962, Pp. xxix + 479. $7.00.

Reviewed by HAROLD SEASHORE

The author, O. K. Buros, is Professor of Education at Rutgers University and serves also as Director of Rutgers' Institute of Mental Measurements. He is best known for his famed Mental Measurements Yearbook, *of which the fifth was published in 1959 and the sixth is now in preparation. Dr. Buros is presently also involved in research on the development of new and unifying concepts of test reliability and hopes to publish on this matter in the near future.*

The reviewer, Harold Seashore, needs no introduction to readers of CP; *but as always happens after the use of such a phrase, he'll be given one anyway. He received his PhD at the State University of Iowa, and for the past twenty years has been associated with The Psychological Corporation where he is now 1) vice-president and 2) director of the test division. As one of* CP's *consultants, he has made many wise but relatively invisible contributions to the operation of the journal. Here he breaks into visibility. Actually he did not intend to review this book. He wrote the editor a comprehensive letter about the book which the editor, with Dr. Seashore's permission, converted into a review by making only three changes in it.*

HOW CAN one do a regular review of Oscar K. Buros' *Tests in Print?* The distinguished author of the series of *Mental Measurements Yearbooks* has put together an almost complete annotated listing of tests which, as of 1961, were available for operational use. There is more to the book, but this is the gist of it. I like to think that Buros would have preferred to do a volume called *Tests Fit to Print.*

On reading the preface and introduction to this volume (and the earlier Yearbooks) one will see that the editor's professional goal is clearly to drive, cajole, lure, and shame test makers to greater excellence. In the process, he informs. I commend the Preface and Introduction to all psychologists—for history, facts, and hair-shirting sermonettes from a man whose role it is to be the esteemed conscience of all testers.

Buros briefly describes 2126 different tests which are verified as being available in 1961. He names the authors and publishers, gives dates and ages or grade levels, and tells where to find reviews of those which have been evaluated in the MMY series. As a publisher, I know how he prodded for facts about dead, dying, living, and aborning tests. He tells us that 23 per cent of these titles have not appeared in the MMY series—because they are new or failed to show up in his earlier screenings of the universe of measurement. Another 20 per cent of the entries show revisions of test content, manual, or supplementary material since they were last described in a MMY. Eighty percent are published in the USA. The list, however, is a worldwide coverage of tests usable by English-speaking people. Buros' compulsive search for completeness is an historical *tour de force.*

Then we are taken into the psychometric graveyard to ponder a list of 841 tests in a section called *Out of Print Tests.* These are tests which were once generally available and now either are really dead or at least in such a comatose condition that they have been withdrawn from distribution.

Who publishes tests? The Publishers Directory and Index lists companies and individuals whose products are in the book in either the live or dead section. Many of these publishers are individual authors who act as their own publishers. Some are dead commercial publishers of dead tests. Forty companies or agencies issue catalogs, eight of these being foreign. Deeply involved as I am in the test business, I found that on checking the fifth and tenth entries in each of the 26 columns of listings, only 22 companies, agencies, or author-publishers were known to me as publishers of one or more tests; there were 30 entries which I in no way have associated with test publishing. Imagine checking about three thousand test titles with over four hundred sources of publication, living and dead! All this for seven dollars from Gryphon Press, Highland Park, New Jersey. Frankly, I think Buros should have added about two dollars to the sales price, the extra dollars to be set aside to render more likely the publication of the *Sixth MMY.*

An incidental contribution of some merit is a six-page listing of foreign agencies with the names of American test companies and agencies or individuals they represent as distributors. This list will guide psychologists in advising their colleagues and others in foreign countries who ask about American tests available in those countries. Many of these firms also are publishers of both indigenous tests and adaptations of American tests.

Reproduced also are the Technical Recommendations of the American Psychological Association and the American Educational Research Association on matters of test construction. So, Buros begins the book with his tenacious prodding towards quality and ends by making easily available the concrete recommendations and standards which aim to push psychometricians and consumers forward on the road toward better performance.

Division 5 has cited Buros for his role as a keeper of the psychometric conscience. Let us add an oak leaf to the medal. Standing on a hard statistical rock and surveying much of the incompetence in the fields about him, Buros steadily preaches that in psychometrics as in other endeavors, excellence is a reasonable goal.

A Professional Study of the Non-Professional

Kenneth E. Clark

The Vocational Interests of Non-professional Men. Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1961. Pp. 129. $3.75.

Reviewed by ROBERT CALLIS

Kenneth E. Clark, the author, after a dozen or more years of remarkably distinguished and equally varied service to and in the science and profession of psychology has recently become Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Colorado. Since Dr. Clark has long and deeply been involved in administrative work, the existence of the present book may be taken as evidence that administrators are not necessarily lost to active and personal involvement in the scientific endeavor. The reviewer, Robert Callis, is Professor of Education at the University of Missouri and also Director of that university's Counseling and Testing Service. Like Dr. Clark, he received his degree at Minnesota, and, again like Dr. Clark, has done extensive research for the Office of Naval Research on essentially

the same Navy population that Dr. Clark used in the study reported here. Dr. Callis is co-author of the Minnesota Teacher Attitude Inventory *and of a book* A Casebook of Counseling (CP, *April, 1956,* **1,** *104). He reports about himself that in the present review he has done his very best not to let his admiration for Dr. Clark interfere with the objectivity of his appraisal of the book.*

SOME PSYCHOLOGISTS have suggested that the vocational interest of non-professional men is essentially undifferentiated, and, therefore, cannot be adequately measured for purposes of classification and occupational choice. Clark challenged this notion and proceeded to investigate the nature of vocational interest of skilled tradesmen both civilian and military.

After deciding to use a triad form of item, he struggled with the question of an open vs. closed scoring system for his vocational interest inventory. Since an open scoring system requires a scale for each major occupation, a new or revised scale must be developed any time a new occupation appears or an old one changes. Such a system can become very cumbersome. On the other hand, the closed system provides a limited number of scales which measure the major *dimensions* of interest. Clark tested both of these systems on his data and reluctantly concluded that for the time being he would need to use the open scoring system of empirically derived occupational scales. He has shown, however, that a closed system which will meet acceptable validity standards is within the realm of possibility. Also, he was able to show that a unit weighting of item responses (+1, 0, −1) can produce equal if not greater validity than the more cumbersome weighting used by Strong (+4 to −4).

One of the most interesting sections of the book has to do with the length of a scale in relation to validity. He found that by choosing highly discriminating items, he could produce maximum validity for a scale by using only 30 to 40 items.

The author made several analyses to determine the topological location of different occupation groups in relation to each other. His data suggest (to the reviewer) four major clusters of occupational groups. The first one is represented by IBM operators, printers, retail sales clerks, milk wagon drivers, Navy storekeepers, and shipping and stock clerks. The second cluster, located a considerable distance from the first, is represented by mechanics, machinists, Navy aviation machinist's mates, sheet metal workers, plumbers, and Navy gunner's mates. The third cluster, mildly associated with the second, is represented by electricians, Navy electrician's mates, Navy fire controlmen, Navy electronics technicians, and Navy radarmen. The fourth cluster is a very loosely organized one represented by carpenters, painters, plasterers, Navy damage controlmen, and Navy boatswain's mates.

The author has not done justice to his 16 years of intensive research. He was liberal with numbers and stingy with words (56 tables in 129 pages). A fuller interpretation of his findings would have markedly improved the book. However, Clark has made a major contribution to professional literature on vocational interest. It is a fascinating landmark, but a difficult book.

Stress Beneath White Coats

Howard S. Becker, Blanche Geer, Everett C. Hughes, and **Anselm L. Strauss**

Boys in White: Student Culture in Medical School. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961. Pp. vii + 456. $10.00.

Reviewed by GEORGE SASLOW

Three of the authors of this book, Becker, Hughes and Strauss, are sociologists, while the fourth, Geer, has a degree in education. Becker and Geer are research associates in Community Studies, Inc., a Kansas City group known for its studies of problems facing the several health professions. Hughes and Strauss both work in an academic setting, Hughes at the University of Chicago and Strauss in the School of Nursing of the University of California Medical Center in San Francisco. All have published extensively, but perhaps psychologists are most familiar with the work of Hughes in the area of the sociology of work and of professions. George Saslow, the reviewer, is a research oriented Professor of Psychiatry and Chairman of the Department of Psychiatry at the University of Oregon Medical School. For more than two decades he has been a vigorous and conscientious teacher. Since 1943 he has been teaching medical students, first at Washington University, then at Harvard and now at Oregon. In spite of all of his experience, he makes the rare and refreshing admission that he's not sure he knows how to teach anything to anybody, so he is continually experimenting with new methods of instruction. He works—most assiduously—to inculcate those general attitudes and skills that will enable his students to deal successfully in the future with the ever broadening and ever changing body of relevant knowledge.

THIS BOOK reports a study of the way in which medical students see and solve the immediate problems of dealing with their teachers and the tasks they assign. Among basic convictions of the authors were these: that all of the professional trends in modern life are evident in the medical profession and the medical school, that we have been reluctant to apply to professional education the insights and methods developed in study of other kinds of work, that the medical school could be looked at as an organization of collective forms of social action, and that it would be worthwhile to study medical students by the methods of close day-to-day observation used in industry.

The researchers here make a theoretical commitment to the concept of sym-

bolic interaction, which stresses the dependence of patterned behavior upon conscious mutual expectations. The phenomena observed were those common to the students and productive of group tension. The main method was that of continued total participant observation on the basis of extensive sampling of students and situations from each of the four medical school years at the University of Kansas. Detailed notes of activities and conversations, and speculations about them, generated provisional hypotheses for which the entire body of recorded materials furnished positive or negative evidence. Informal and structured interviews were also used with small student samples from each class. The recorded materials were used to discover relevant problems, to build hypotheses pertinent to these problems and to search for valid indicators of the variables in a hypothesis. Such an approach brought it about that problems came to be considered central at the end of the study that had not been so defined at the beginning.

It is difficult to analyze data of this kind. The authors take special pains to describe explicitly their modes of qualitative analysis, including the modes of proof and disproof upon which they rely. The data came to be grouped under three concepts: group perspectives, student culture and organization. Perspectives—co-ordinated sets of ideas and actions used in problematic situations—are short- or long-range, individual or group; they vary in frequency among the observations, and in situational and temporal range, are volunteered spontaneously or asked for by an observer, and are negated by some students; they consist of activities as well as statements, may deal with problems relevant to the student role, or with the effect upon students of membership in the medical school as an organization. One of the useful contributions of the study is the development of a tabular form for the efficient summary presentation of a great deal of complex recorded material dealing with perspectives in terms of the characteristics given above.

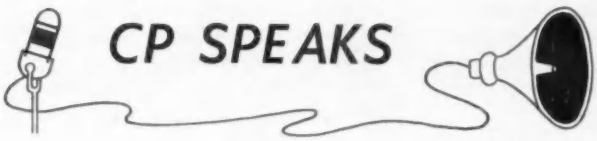
The observations show that the freshmen start with the hope of learning everything relevant to their future careers, soon find this impossible, discover that the faculty do not participate responsibly in the selection of what to learn, and by the end of the year have come to the perspective that either "learning the faculty" or studying only what will be useful in medical practice is the sensible way to deal with the learning overload. The "faculty-wants" perspective is the most frequent. Faculty goals are very different from either of these student perspectives, but it is hard to see how the faculty are justified in their complaints that the students look for short-cuts, are over-concerned about the number of questions on a test, or about their grades, are uninterested in exploring a subject with curiosity, etc., so long as the overload problem is presented as one that is entirely the students' to solve. Although systematic study of the sophomore year was not undertaken, the authors felt (probably on good enough grounds) that the major problems and perspectives were not different from those at the end of the freshman year, except for the introduction to clinical medicine by the course in physical diagnosis.

The problem of learning overload continues into the clinical years. Grades and examinations are somewhat less important, but faculty precept and faculty example continue divergent. From this divergence, student culture concludes that it is wiser to organize the clinical years around two perspectives: medical responsibility and clinical experience, rather than around acquisition of observational skill, scientific knowledge, better diagnostic reasoning, and more effective doctor-patient relations. Over and over the aversive consequences of deficiences in medical responsibility or in clinical experience are presented forcefully by faculty to students, but the rewards of improved observation or diagnostic reasoning are rarely presented forcefully. Student culture thus often violates faculty expectations. The students are under strain as a result, but have little power to better their situation. Individual and group harassments of the faculty occur in this situation that seem analogous to wildcat strikes.

Similar strain over non-reciprocal expectations is recorded with regard to the generalized subordination felt by students in their relations with faculty in contrast to faculty hopes of student maturity; such strain appears a probable consequence of the characteristic combination of teaching and examining functions in the same faculty members.

Particularly interesting observations are presented for the development of a collective perspective on student cooperation. The rules and beliefs pertinent to this perspective clearly include elements analogous to the restriction of output observed in industry; it is noteworthy that such collective settings of work ceilings need not depend upon major conflicts of interest between subordinates and superiors, since both faculty and student want the student to become a competent doctor. Nor is a certain degree of student autonomy absent from other areas: the direction in which effort should be put forth, excessive emphasis on the "practical," etc. Such autonomy needs to be taken into account if a faculty tries to improve medical education.

This reviewer was impressed by four conclusions, each warranted by the material presented: 1. The sociological approach to the material provides challenging data for medical faculty and for other students of education. 2. Interview data cannot be relied upon to furnish dependable information about the matters considered. Observations of students in action are necessary. 3. Faculty disappointment in medical students is common. 4. The medical instructional process seems to depend upon verbal goals that are not related to any theory of education (as has also been noted in Sanford's *The American College*). Specifically, abstract goals are over-emphasized and the compelling influence on students of the immediate situation is under-emphasized. How to reinforce the desired responses in those immediate situations, or how to provide different immediate situations, are probably the kind of questions to be answered if medical student conduct is to approach faculty expectations more closely. So long as this approach is neglected, so long will present dissatisfactions with medical (and other) education continue. The observations presented are in no way unique to this medical school.



Reviewable Books not Reviewed

CP does not succeed in publishing reviews of every book its selection processes tell it to review. In a number of cases, there have been books originally judged of borderline appropriateness and for which it has been exceedingly difficult to find willing reviewers. In such cases, after trying a dozen or so nominated reviewers, *CP* is likely to give up, deciding that so much reluctance to review pushes the book properly into the category of rejection. In other cases, failure to review, or exceptional delay in publishing a review is due to human fallibility, including in some cases death, on the part of the once-would-be reviewer.

CP worries about such instances. It worries about the fact that it fails in its aspiration to review all significant books in psychology. And it worries, with simple empathy, about the unreviewed author. In its mind's eye it sees him anxiously thumbing through every issue of the journal without finding any mention of his work. During the last year *CP* has felt it proper to write to a number of such authors telling them what it knows about the non-appearance of the review in which they have an understandable interest.

Typical of both the form and content of such letters is the following one:

April 1, 1962
Dear —— ——:

It seems likely that you have some concern about the fact that *CP* has not yet carried a review of your book—— —— —— ——. I think you are due an accounting. While I am not at all sure I can explain what happened, I can at least give you some relevant facts.

Our records show that we received your book from the publisher on July 22, 1961, and on the same day acknowledged it. On August 1st the book was referred, along with some others to one of our consultants. On August 9th, we received from our consultant a recommendation that the book be given a review of from 800 to 1,000 words and that any one of three named individuals was competent to review it. By August 23rd, the second individual nominated had been asked to do the review and had accepted the assignment, with a deadline of October 15th. The book was mailed to the reviewer on August 24th. On August 29th we received a card saying he had received the book. On October 2nd we sent our routine and gentle reminder that his deadline was approaching. On November 5th we sent him a card reminding him that the review was late. On December 3rd, we sent him another card with the same content. On January 12th the editor wrote him a letter trying to be firm but also trying to present a face-saving way for him to back out of the assignment. On January 25th, we had a letter saying that he had been ill but that he would send in a review at an early date. On March 1st another letter went out from the editor. Since that date, now three weeks past, we've not had a word.

It is now a good guess that the potential reviewer is in some kind of serious trouble. I will now write him, I hope without flagellating him, that we will have to give up on him and try some one else. I suppose we'd better ask the publishers for another copy of your book. We are very sad about the whole affair. But along with the more admirable and enjoyable attributes of humanity that are involved in this enterprise, I suppose we have to expect some human fallibility also.

We will move as rapidly as possible to secure, process and publish a review of your book. (Sincerely yours.)

CP readers should, and perhaps will, want to know about the books accepted as appropriate for review but whose reviews have been held up for a long time by one kind or another of human fallibility. The collection of such books includes those on the following list. All these books will probably be reviewed. When and if the reviews appear, *CP* readers will not know, of course, whether the review was done by the original nominee, recently come alive, or by a newly selected reviewer.

Cattell, Raymond B. & Ivan H. Scheier. *The Meaning and Measurement of Neuroticism and Anxiety.* Ronald Press, 1961.

Cowen, Emory, L., Rita P. Underburg, Ronald T. Verillo, & Frank G. Benham. *Adjustment to Visual Disability in Adolescence.* American Foundation for the Blind, 1961.

Earl, C. J. C. *Subnormal Personalities, Their Clinical Investigation and Assessment.* Williams and Wilkins, 1961.

Gordon, William J. J. *Synectics: the Development of Creative Capacity.* Harpers, 1961.

Hauser, Philip M. *Population Perspectives.* Rutgers University Press, 1961.

Kolb, Lawrence, C., Richard L. Masland & Robert E. Cooke. (Eds.) *Mental Retardation.* Williams & Wilkins, 1962.

McClelland, David C. *The achieving society.* Van Nostrand, 1961.

MacDonald, John M. *The Murderer and His Victim.* Charles C. Thomas, 1961.

Madison, Peter. *Freud's Concept of Repression and Defense: Its Theoretical and Observational Language.* University of Minnesota Press, 1961.

Moscovici, Serge. *La Psychanalyse: son Image et son Public.* Presses Universitaire de France, 1961.

Rigney, Francis J. & L. Douglas Smith. *The Real Bohemia.* Basic Books, 1961.

Rothstein, Jerome (Ed.) *Mental Retardation: Readings and Resources.* Holt, Reinhart & Winston, 1961.

Thorpe, W. H. & O. L. Zangwill. (Eds.) *Current Problems in Animal Behavior.* Cambridge University Press, 1961.

Westoff, Charles F. & Robert G. Potter, Jr., Philip C. Sagi, & Elliot G. Mishler. *Family Growth in Metropolitan America.* Princeton University Press, 1961.

White, Mary Alice & Myron W. Harris. *The School Psychologist.* Harper, 1961.

In addition to these books *CP* has in

its files the records on another dozen non-reviewed books that were received many months ago and that were judged appropriate for review. The reasons for delay are different for each of these books. Some of them seem to be books that are either so big or so difficult, or both, that only a very rare kind of person will agree to tackle the job of reviewing. On one of them, the thirteenth person asked has agreed to do the review; he now seems to be regretting the agreement but will probably come through.

Non-Psychological Writing by Psychologists

Many psychologists have and ply competencies and achieve positions that are ostensibly not connected at all with the psychologist's usual role. Frank Stanton is President of Columbia Broadcasting System, Leonard Carmichael is Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, John Gardner presides over the Carnegie Corporation. There are also a number of prestigeous presidents of colleges and universities and dozens of distinguished deans. At what some would regard as a lower level, there are part-time or ex-professional singers and equally professional musical instrumentalists. And at a still lower level, there is Garry Boring, the champion wood chopper, in his age bracket, in eastern Maine and there is Boring's successor on *CP*, who is the best brick-layer and stonemason on his block. But *CP* is not interested in any of these. It is mainly interested in psychologists who write and read psychological books. But it is also interested in psychologists who write books that have no apparent connection with the professional pattern. For example, there is Walter Toman, who writes short stories, and S. S. Stevens who writes about skiing; there is Harold McCurdy who writes poetry and Molly Harrower who does the same, but differently. There is A. A. Roback, who has recently edited and contributed to the volume *In Albert Schweitzer's Realms* (Sci-Art Publishers, 1961). And, of course, there is Fred Skinner's *Walden Two*. *CP* is very probably not going to review any of the non-psychological writings of psychologists, but it can quite properly be interested in them, if for no other reason than to cultivate, and perhaps to pass along, the impression that psychologists are a creative crowd, whose literary talents are neither confined to nor constrained by psychology. *CP* would be happy to receive information from authors or their friends on psychologists' non-psychological writings and would welcome comments on why the writing was done and on what connection exists, if any, between a psychological orientation and the writing.

Personality, Modal and Otherwise

Yehudi A. Cohen

Social Structure and Personality: A Casebook. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961. Pp. xiv + 528. $7.50.

Robert H. Dalton

Personality and Social Interaction. Boston: D. C. Heath, 1961. Pp. x + 381. $6.00.

Reviewed by Daniel R. Miller

The author of the first book listed above, Yehudi Cohen, is an anthropologist with a degree from Yale University and with extensive field experience. He has taught at the Albert Einstein College of Medicine and at Columbia, and but recently has gone moderately west to the Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago. Robert Dalton, author of the second book, took his PhD in education and psychology at Harvard University, where he spent a year in Henry Murray's clinic. After some years at clinical work, he moved to Cornell University where he is Professor of Child Development and Family Relationships and Professor of Psychology. He has recently begun a study of the effect of multiple mothering on personality development in the Virgin Islands. The reviewer, Daniel R. Miller, is a Stanford PhD who is now Professor of Psychology at the University of Michigan and a Research Associate at Michigan's Institute of Social Research. Between Stanford and Ann Arbor, he served as a neuropsychiatric assistant at Stanford-Lane Hospital, as an occupational analyst for the U.S. War Manpower Commission, as a management consultant for the Los Angeles Personnel Institute, and as a project director for the National Development Research Council. Presently he is engrossed in research on interpersonal relationships and reports his own committment to the view that the integration of sociological and psychological theory is a minimal requisite for building a science of personality.

At first the fundamental difference in the content of these books tends to be blurred by their many similarities. As their primary goal, both Cohen and Dalton try to define principles which explain the associations between personality and society. Both authors concentrate on associations which are relevant to social interaction and the life cycle, and both authors describe their psychological variables in the language of motivation, perception and learning.

The books even resemble each other in organization, theoretical bias, and style of writing. The primary virtues of both volumes derive from their being organized around detailed case illustrations which were chosen because they illustrate particular principles. These are discussed with a balance that reflects the many years that were devoted to their preparation. As his illustrations, Cohen provides selections from papers, most of them empirical, from the psy-

chological, sociological, and anthropological literature; Dalton reports clinical diagnoses and interviews with three people and their families. Both authors write with great clarity, both communicate their obvious enthusiasm for their particular theoretical positions, and both betray a relative indifference to methodological issues, such as the use of controls or the validity of subjective observation and projective tests.

There the similarity ends. As might be expected of a psychologist, Dalton places great stress on individual differences, and employs the relatively abstract concepts and principles—reinforcement, functional autonomy, valence, superego—that are popular among members of his profession. Cohen, who is more interested in social structure, explicitly rules out the topic of individual differences as irrelevant to his subject matter, and confines himself to the modal personality. Since he employs only those psychological variables that help him to answer his predominantly sociological questions, his comments on personality tend to be much less systematic than are those of Dalton. In a few instances Cohen would have done well to pay more attention to psychological theory and findings: he treats psychosis primarily in terms of poor performance of roles, for example, ignoring the relevant dynamic theories; he seems to make the implicit assumption that punishment extinguishes behavior.

As might be expected of an anthropologist, Cohen concentrates on such problems as the effects of various patterns of ecological and social organization on socialization, personality traits required for the successful functioning of institutions, and the effects of institutions on the personality processes of adults. Although Dalton thinks his principles pertain to interacting people within society, he sometimes displays a surprising tendency to underplay social interaction in favor of individual psychology, and he generally neglects social organization except for some unsystematic references to the family. His sketchy comments about society seem bare indeed compared to Cohen's rich and generally systematic references to kinship, economics, the law, the army, and other systems whose stability and interdependence he relates to modal personality.

There is one other major difference between the two books. Writing for students of psychology who have had only the introductory course, Dalton is more intent on covering basic principles than on raising questions either by citing contradictory evidence or by speculating about interesting implications of the positions he presents. Cohen is obviously addressing his book to a more advanced group of undergraduates in sociology and anthropology: he does not always define his terms, and he assumes some acquaintance with conceptions of social organization. As intent on stimulating thinking as he is on introducing the reader to particular theories, he devotes much of his effort to evaluation, often adverse, of the papers he has reprinted, and to speculative proposals of many new hypotheses most of which have not yet been tested. He criticizes many studies of toilet training and personality, for example, because they provide information about the timing but not the strictness of the mothers' methods; he analyzes the self into dimensions and suggests possible methods of measuring them; he postulates associations such as those between the variables of social isolation, degree of puritanism, and the socialization process. He cites field studies to support his contention that the rate of psychosis varies with the institutionalized help that a society provides the incipient psychotic. Even when the reader disagrees with some of these positions he is very stimulated, and he cannot help but feel that they are at the heart of the theoretical issues Cohen is attempting to clarify.

In summary, we have here two carefully planned, clearly written volumes with reciprocal strengths and weaknesses. Each book does a superior job on a different part of the same general area of problems, and each is strong where the other is weak. A choice between them may be very difficult for the instructor who is trying to teach a thought-provoking course on the relationships between personality and society. But why make a choice? I recommend that he assign both books.

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Dale B. Harris

A complete revision of the earlier text, **Measurement of Intelligence by Drawings,** by Florence L. Goodenough, including a restandardization of the Goodenough Draw-a-Man scale, plus a new standardization of a Draw-a-Woman scale. *Publication: Spring, 1963.*

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January publication: the new edition of the most widely used text in the field and the one that **"has become a standard of comparison for other educational psychologies."** *—Psychological Bulletin.*

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■ The text is under the editorship of Ernest R. Hilgard and Willard B. Spalding. Pre-publication examination copies will be available in December. Please reserve your copy now. In preparation: separate booklet of objective test questions by **Jacob Orleans,** University of Nevada.

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Incisive Ideas from the Soviet Union

L. S. Vygotsky (Edited and translated by **Eugenia Hanfmann** and **Gertrude Vakar**)

Thought and Language. New York: Wiley, 1962. Pp. v + 168. $4.95.

Reviewed by SUSAN M. ERVIN

Lev Semenovich Vygotsky at the time of his death in 1934 was Professor of Psychology at the Institute of Psychology, Moscow University, and was serving as editor of several psychological journals. He is best known in the United States for two articles, "Thought in Schizophrenia," (Arch. Neurol. Psychiatr., 1934, **31***) and "Thought and Speech," (Psychiatry, 1939,* **2:** *1). Susan M. Ervin, a Michigan PhD, holds an assistant professorship in the Department of Speech and is a research associate at the Center for Human Learning at the University of California in Berkeley. She has been studying linguistics for some years and has participated in the summer institutes of the Linguistics Society of America. She has also worked in the Southwest Project in Comparative Psycholinguistics, there conducting a study of Navaho bilinguals. Her persisting research interest centers on the language of children as well as on bilingualism.*

HERE, after 23 years, is the book that readers of Vygotsky's *Psychiatry* article, "Thought and Speech," have been awaiting. One reads it with astonishment and delight, and with some sadness. The book shines with originality, penetration, and civilized breadth; it is the posthumous publication of a man who died in his prime after ten highly productive years as a psychologist. Piaget, in a supplement, speaks of his sorrow at discovering so late the similarity of his and Vygotsky's concerns. What a dialogue this would have been; we have a tantalizing glimpse in their insightful comments on each other's work.

Vygotsky's central interest was the development of the higher mental functions. His publications deal with child development, education, and psychopathology. He is probably best known in this country for the test of conceptual thinking employed by Hanfmann and Kasanin in studies of schizophrenia. In this book the focus is on the relation of thought and speech, as it changes with education and development.

Thought and speech are, Vygotsky argues, separate functions. There is preverbal thought, as shown in the problem-solving of animals and infants, and in many activities of men, such as tool-using. And there is preintellectual—or nonintellectual—speech, as witness the communication of animals, much social communication in humans, and routinized greetings and emotional expressions. Vygotsky is critical of attempts either to merge thought with non-vocal speech, or to view the two functions as independent. Throughout the book he treats their mutual relations and the factors leading to convergence and divergence between them.

Two themes are pervasive: one is that rational language consists of symbols for conceptual categories. The other is that language evolves as a device for mediating the adaptation of the organism, and should be viewed in terms of its functional context.

In studying conceptual development, Vygotsky was critical of methods dependent on verbal responses, since they relied too heavily on verbal skills, and did not permit analysis of intellectual processes as they occurred. His block-sorting techniques were devised as solutions for these difficulties. In the course of using these techniques he found, in addition to the formation of categories based on a common attribute, a great variety of types of thinking. The description of development from syncretic images, and complexes, to abstract categories has been made familiar to us: Werner and Bruner, for example, have dealt with similar phenomena. Piaget comments that he would describe developmental change not in terms of types of resulting categories but in terms of changing mental operations themselves. Since Vygotsky was himself critical of techniques that dealt with results rather than processes, they would probably have agreed on this point. This is one area in which the evidence since Vygotsky's time has considerably enriched our knowledge. In addition to a discussion of developmental changes, Vygotsky shows that there is evidence of the various types of thinking in adult behavior, such as in historical changes in word meanings. But like others of his day, he seems to have believed that the capacity for conceptual abstraction was peculiar to adults in technologically advanced societies; here Lévy-Bruhl's influence is apparent.

Vygotsky was concerned with the relation between conceptual structures and word meanings, for he argued that we can understand the acquisition of language only in terms of the "complexes" used by the child. At certain points he makes a distinction between reference, meaning, and sense. The same referent may be described or named by words with different meanings; he uses the example "the victor at Jena" and "the loser at Waterloo." Sense seems to refer to connotation and is heavily influenced by context of occurrence. Sense is the sum of all the psychological events aroused by a word; meaning is its stable core. Here his most useful remarks are those concerning the relation between adult and child meanings during language acquisition.

PERHAPS the most fascinating and novel sections of the book are those in which the author discusses the functions

of speech. Vygotsky begins by criticizing Piaget's treatment of egocentric speech. For Piaget, egocentric speech was an index to egocentrism or "centrism" of thinking, to the inability of children to take a frame of reference independent of their own position. For Vygotsky, egocentrism in speech was a phenomenon of interest in itself. He was so interested by Piaget's data that he went on to amplify many points by experimentation. He disagreed on the interpretation of the place of egocentric monologues in the development of the child. He thought that Piaget emphasized too strongly the autism of young children and the non-adaptive character of their thinking and behavior. "Autistic thought—the original opposite of realistic thought in Piaget's scheme—is, in our opinion, a late development, a result of realistic thought and of its corollary, thinking in concepts, which leads to a degree of autonomy from reality and thus permits satisfaction in fantasy of the needs frustrated in life." He viewed the primitive methods of thought as being adaptive, in terms of the information available to the child; for this, Piaget accuses him of "bio-social optimism."

Optimism is also evident in Vygotsky's greater focus on the possibilities of artificially speeding up the process of development. Though both agreed that this was possible, Piaget has throughout his work been more concerned with the limitations, Vygotsky with the possibilities of education. "The child thinks syncretically in matters of which he has no knowledge or experience but does not resort to syncretism in relation to familiar things or things within easy reach of practical checking—and the number of these depends on the method of education."

VYGOTSKY'S most brilliant contribution to developmental psychology was his analysis of the functional roots of language. He discusses the gestures of animals, as involving affective expression, social emotions, and rudimentary grasping or pointing—the precursors of the child's first pointing or naming words. He believed that the failure of primates to acquire language—vocal or not—was in the intellectual operations required, namely, abstract categorizing. Sapir's treatment of linguistic categories was familiar to him, including the notion of a phoneme as a category at one level. In the child he saw a series of stages, beginning with preintellectual—affective and social—speech, and preverbal thought, next the growth of practical intelligence, and the learning of linguistic forms, then the use of external operations as aids in the solution of internal problems. Last, there is a stage of turning inward of external operations, the turning of egocentric speech into thought. Vygotsky saw "egocentric speech" as functional, as either expressive or rationally manipulative. He found that the frequency of such speech increased as a child was frustrated in reaching his goals, that it influenced his activities—perhaps as a mediator—and that its frequency decreased in the absence of an audience. Speech is, he argues, social in its origins. It is learned from others and at first it is used entirely for affective and social functions. Only with time does it come to have self-directive properties that eventually result in internalized verbal thought.

Vygotsky and Piaget disagreed in the meaning of "social." Piaget spoke of the socialization of language as it became increasingly communicative. His descriptions of children's repetitions of stories and of explanations are excellent examples of social but not socialized speech. For him, successful communication results from the maturing of mental operations, and may fail even between adults. Vygotsky, in contrast, emphasized that speech was initially entirely social, only later acquiring differentiated functions; even egocentric speech was social in his sense, and decreased in the absence of an audience. The acquisition of language itself, initially non-intellectual, carries with it, as the child speaks with others, the gradual acquisition of similar conceptual structures in speakers of a language. Language thus is not merely a consequence; it is interwoven with and actively influences mental processes. The increasing use of speech for mediation of behavior even when the child is alone implies that language is an important device for social control, so that "socialization" occurs not only in speech but through it in language-mediated behavior as well. Vygotsky's collaborators continued after his death to explore experimentally the transition of external to internal controls.

This book was suppressed shortly after its initial publication in the Soviet Union in 1934, but it was reprinted in 1956 and was followed by another volume of papers. Research on verbal behavior has blossomed in the Soviet Union since the early 1950's, and Vygotsky has had a great influence. Fortunately, there is available now a variety of translations: *Works of the Institute of High Nervous Activity*, Pathophysiological Series, Vol. 2; *The Central Nervous System and Behavior;* and most pertinent to Vygotsky's work the studies of Luria and his associates reported in *The Role of Speech in the Regulation of Normal and Abnormal Behavior*, and in *Speech and the Development of Mental Processes in the Child.*

The translators have been superb editors as well, and have selected terminology and phrasing which has contributed to the impression of current relevance. In addition, it was Dr. Hanfmann who had the happy thought of sending the manuscript to Professor Piaget, whose reply is a jewel of conciseness and clarity, and throws light both on his own work and on Vygotsky's.

The appearance of this book casts the research of the intervening three decades into startling perspective; much that Vygotsky said remains fresh and incisive today. We can only wonder whether the translation curtain conceals other treasures.

On the day of Cromwell's death, when Newton was sixteen, a great storm raged all over England. He used to say, in his old age, that on that day he made his first purely scientific experiment. To ascertain the force of the wind, he first jumped with wind and then against it; and, by comparing these distances with the extent of his own jump on a calm day, he was enabled to compute the force of the storm. When the wind blew thereafter, he used to say it was so many feet strong.

—JAMES PARTON

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Racial Attitudes in Africa's South

Cyril A. Rogers and **C. Frantz**

Racial Themes in Southern Rhodesia: The Attitudes and Behavior of the White Population. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962. Pp. v + 427. $6.75.

Reviewed by THOMAS F. PETTIGREW

Cyril Rogers, one of the authors, is a native New Zealander who received his PhD from the University of London in 1952. He went back home for a while to teach at Auckland University College, but is now on the faculty of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland where he is lecturing in education. His earlier publications include the book, Measuring Intelligence in New Zealand *(1956). Charles Frantz, the other author, received his PhD in Social Anthropology in 1958 from the University of Chicago and currently is Associate Professor of Anthropology at Portland State College, Oregon. Before settling in Oregon he served almost two years as a research professor at the University College of Rhodesia where he worked under the sponsorship of the University of Chicago's African Universities Program. Thomas F. Pettigrew is just about the man* CP *said he was in May, 1962 (p. 174), except he may have improved a bit on an already impressive record for promptness in turning in* CP *reviews. He still is a Lecturer in Social Psychology in the Social Relations Department of Harvard University, and is still engaged in research on the personality of the American Negro.*

FOR ALL that has been written in recent decades about the need for cross-cultural research, exceptionally little has been conducted in many of the realms of psychology—even in such an appropriate realm as racial attitudes. Consequently this volume is of special interest, for it is an extended report of a prodigious attempt to survey with modern techniques the attitudes of the white population of Southern Rhodesia toward racially discriminatory laws and customs.

Despite interruption by a government-declared racial "emergency" and some hostile reaction in the press, data were collected during 1959 from a stratified probability sample of 500 whites throughout all of Southern Rhodesia. The non-response rate was apparently low (pp. 74-76), and the sample's final composition closely resembles census figures (pp. 55-70)—no mean feat in a country taut with racial anxiety. This success demonstrates that rigorous race research and polling techniques are feasible in Africa when accurate census data are available.

Unfortunately, the questionnaire used with this carefully-drawn sample is disappointingly narrow when compared with all of the rich empirical and theoretical tools that could be brought to bear in this unique situation. No personality measures whatsoever are employed, and projective techniques are cavalierly dismissed as being too difficult to quantify (pp. 42-43). There are data for 14 census variables, but other areas of particular interest to social psychologists and sociologists are neglected. Indeed, even attitudes toward Africans are not directly tapped. Rather, reliance is placed in an instrument containing 66 items covering a wide variety of common practices that discriminate against Africans. Since all of these items are written in the same direction and have the same four fixed response alternatives, it seems certain that "response set" plays an important, though undiscussed, role in the data (some respondents complained that there was no "balance of tone" in the questionnaire, p. 78).

Nevertheless, the principal findings are important and furnish suggestive cross-cultural comparisons with similar American data. The majority of the respondents favored the maintenance of racial discrimination in most areas of life, though there is more variability in attitude than previous speculations about the whites of Central Africa might have led one to believe. For example, legal injustice is not generally supported, while the segregation of public toilets and swimming pools is. When factor analyzed, a large general factor emerges (probably heavily determined by response set), followed by a number of smaller factors which relate well to the various areas covered —legal justice, physical separation, educational opportunities, political control, etc.

IT would have been interesting had the census data been used as guideline variables in the factor analysis; instead, they are handled one-by-one in separate analyses with little attention to their interactions (save for pp. 313-316). Sex, age (—.07), rural-urban residence, and income (—.01) do not relate significantly to the attitude scale, contrary to many American findings. But length of residence in Southern Rhodesia (—.17), country of birth, education (+.41), occupational status, type of business, ethnicity, political party, and religious affiliation all significantly relate in meaningful and expected ways. A number of these correlates, particularly the first two, suggest that conformity pressures are as important in shaping racial attitudes in Southern Rhodesia as they have been shown to be in South Africa and in the southern United States (pp. 38-39).

Other comparisons with the southern United States will be of special interest to American readers, too. Though the ratio of Africans to whites is 12:1 (p. 12), interracial marriages are legal (though very rare, p. 25, p. 283), and there has been no Ku Klux Klan and only threats of lynching (p. 26, p. 284) in Southern Rhodesia, there are still many striking parallels. There is the

same emphasis on separate-but-equal racial facilities, supported by an "anti-amalgamation" doctrine (pp. 324-327) but tinged with guilt (p. 222, p. 333). Even Harry Golden's "vertical plan" may have validity there, for the respondents wish to maintain segregation at sitting facilities more than at standing facilities (p. 98). And the "white man's rank order of discrimination," held by Gunnar Myrdal to apply to the South, is quite similar in Southern Rhodesia (p. 325); the major differences involve relatively less insistence on deferent etiquette and more on denying the ballot than in the South.

Furthermore, both regions are now rapidly changing. Recent laws in Southern Rhodesia make multiracial trade unions possible and signs demanding racial separation are disappearing from some shops, banks, post offices, and from railroad ticket windows (p. 346). As in most of our own South, these modifications have been accepted—though the tension and change is commonly blamed on Communism and outsiders (p. 269). In fact, racial defensiveness even extends to "Yankees" in both parts of the world! Responding to the news that an American was studying their racial attitudes, one white Rhodesian wrote his newspaper editor: "For sheer audacity these people surely take the whole biscuit factory. One has only to read early American history and the way in which they managed their own affairs in the middle and late 19th century to appreciate their colossal effrontery. . . . We should bar them from this country until they have settled their own problems" (pp. 368-369).

Fascinating as much of this material is, *Racial themes in Southern Rhodesia* is so detailed and ponderous that it will probably not receive the wide readership it deserves. Even chi-square formulae (p. 54, p. 89) and the Greek derivation of "hierarchial" (p. 105) find their way into the text. For use in advanced race and survey methodology courses, however, this plodding, all-inclusive style has merit, as do the extensive 431-item bibliography and 22-page index.

Adjustment with Responsibility

Henry Clay Smith

Personality Adjustment. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961. Pp. xii + 617. $6.95.

Richard S. Lazarus

Adjustment and Personality. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961. Pp. xiv + 503. $6.50.

Reviewed by RICHARD L. CUTLER

The author of the first book considered here, Henry Clay Smith, received his doctorate from Johns Hopkins and since then, except for a brief spell in industry, has taught psychology at various colleges and universities. He is now Associate Professor at Michigan State University. Richard Lazarus, author of the second book, is a Pittsburgh PhD who taught at Johns Hopkins and Clark Universities before moving, in 1957, to the University of California at Berkeley where he is now a professor. Earlier he co-authored, with Wilson Shaffer, Fundamental Concepts in Clinical Psychology *(1952). Richard Cutler, the reviewer, is a product of the University of Michigan who evidently found adjusting in Ann Arbor to his liking, for, after receiving his PhD there and leaving for California, he returned home after only one year. He is perhaps best described as a member of the rare and diminishing breed of general psychologists, since he maintains a competent interest in the field of clinical psychology, personality theory, and perception, while keeping alive a major commitment to teaching. Annually he teaches hundreds of students in the University of Michigan course on adjustment and is presently involved in two major research projects, one concerned with the effectiveness of a program of mental health consultation for teachers and the other with the perceptual and cognitive development of young children. To round things off he holds a gubernatorial appointment to the Michigan State Mental Health Commission, a five man board responsible for the policies governing the operations of the state mental health institutions.*

THOSE of us who teach courses in the Psychology of Adjustment are presented each year with a significant opportunity. Into our classrooms come tens of thousands of undergraduate students, bringing with them imperfect and occasionally maudlin images of psychology. Some have recently been exposed to an introductory survey course in the field, and meet us discontented that they have not come to understand what psychology is *really* about. Many hold to the public view that the essence of our field lies somewhere between Sigmund Freud and Havelock Ellis. Another group comes seeking usable insight into their own, or others', problems. Most will be through with a formal exposure to psychology after this course or one more.

Our opportunity lies in the popularity of our subject matter, the receptivity of our audience, and the possibility that we may give our students an insight into our dependable knowledge and frightening ignorance about how normal people manage to get along in a complex and stressful world. While it may be presumptuous to believe that we exert any great force in shaping the future of these students, we may, by using our collective time well, add something to their knowledge of, and respect for, themselves, human nature, and the field of psychology.

With this opportunity comes a responsibility of equal significance. We owe it to both our students and our discipline to present what we know and what we do not know in a rigorous and systematic way. We need to avoid nurturing popular misconceptions about solving one's personal problems through a knowledge of psychodynamics or about the effectiveness of IBM programs in mate-selection, to name but two of hundreds. To do less is to deceive our public and cheapen our science.

The good teacher is concerned with making his subject matter attractive and interesting to his students. In the writing or selection of a textbook, a similar concern for palatability should exist. But in the substantive area of adjustment, this concern need be less paramount than in areas which have less intrinsic personal interest. Adjustment courses are almost universally popular, and the danger is not so much that the teacher or the text will not be palatable as that they will attend too much to turning the popularity of the subject matter into delusions of their own. Too many of these courses are gimmicked, slap-dash treatments of a limited and non-systematic segment of psychology. Too few ever get beyond dealing with drives, self-actualization, and ways to avoid psychopathology. Too few permit systematic treatment of what is in fact the applied version of normal personality development and theory.

While an instructor, who sometimes lets his course material grow under the impact of what is well accepted, may be excused for over-popularization, the writer of the textbook cannot. Unlike the instructor, the writer loses control of his product once it is fielded. He does not have the next day or the critical question to face, except as these are represented by curmudgeon colleagues or reviewers. Upon the writer rests the dual challenge of palatability and rigor.

DR. SMITH, now Associate Professor at Michigan State after a career at Vermont, Western Electric, Knox and Hamilton, is not fully successful in meeting this challenge. His book is attractive and palatable, containing a myriad of fine illustrations, and samples of tests which the student is invited to administer to himself. The undergraduate mind should be invigorated by trying to decide, on the basis of a two paragraph description of the case of William and Laura, whether to say T or F to statements such as "William considers his marriage was a mistake" and "Laura knows she is being too submissive . . ." The relationship of such exercises to the substance of the text, however, is seldom apparent.

Within and between sentences, Dr. Smith's writing is articulate. Within and between larger units, the book does not reveal the same quality. When a book develops out of a course the writer teaches, as this one apparently has, a rationale for organization which is apparent to the teacher and to his students is not always communicated to the reader. The four major sections of this book bear too little explicit relationship to one another. Opportunities to interpret such topics as adjustment to college, marriage, and aging in terms of the interesting chapters on drive, temperament, and perception are missed.

The book contains several stimulating concepts which are not typically treated in adjustment texts. Smith's introduction of sensory awareness as a drive is truly ingenious and deserves much greater elaboration. The chapter on perception is illuminating and precise, but somewhat narrow. The treatment of values represents a dogmatic oversimplification. In its totality the book is occasionally excellent, often insightful, but most frequently undisciplined.

DR. LAZARUS' book is one which should find favor among both his tough- and tender-minded colleagues. Apparently he brought with him from his experience at Pittsburgh, (where he PhD'd), Johns Hopkins and Clark a wish to be electric yet comprehensive in his conception of personality and adjustment. This desire is apparent throughout the book, which touches upon nearly every serious point of view in the field of personality.

The reviewer is in general agreement with the assertion of the book jacket that "this is a theory-oriented study which explores its subject matter fully, and at considerably greater depth than other books of its kind." However, two weaknesses emerge as a consequence of this effort. First, the book may fall between the freshman-sophomore audience which demands (incorrectly, we think) a less scholarly treatment of adjustment, and the junior-senior audience which demands a slightly more integrated treatment of personality theory and research. Second, in proposing to cover as much ground as he does, the writer suffers from the weakness of the field, in that systematic inter-relating of the thousands of concepts becomes impossible.

In its organization and content, Dr. Lazarus' book is excellent. The reviewer especially appreciated the first section's clear definition of basic problems and concepts. Here is a solid foundation for later discussions of personality theory, development and adjustment. Section two, "Personality Theory," is a most competent survey, albeit providing no conceptual integration. The weakest section of the book is its third, that concerned with assessment, treatment, and other practical applications. It degenerates into a rather standard treatment of elementary clinical theory and practice. Coming as late as it does, however, it does not detract materially from the solid scholarship of the earlier portions. An instructor who wishes to offer his students a somewhat more thorough experience than usual in the relating of personality to adjustment could do worse than to select this book.

Men send rockets out to the stars, release the sources of energy used by the sun itself, and recombine the fundamental particles of matter to make new kinds of clothing: but they still steal, go mad, live unhappily together, and threaten each other with weapons which might destroy the entire species.

—D. E. BROADBENT

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Geronts with High Morale

Elaine Cumming and **William E. Henry**

Growing Old: The Process of Disengagement. New York: Basic Books, 1961. Pp. v + 293. $6.75.

Reviewed by GEORGE L. MADDOX

The first author, Elaine Cumming, is a sociologist with a Radcliffe-Harvard PhD who is now an assistant director of the Mental Health Research Unit of the New York State Department of Mental Health. She co-authored, with John Cumming, Closed Ranks *(1957). The second author is psychologist William E. Henry who did his graduate work at the University of Chicago and after an excursion or two into other climes, returned to Chicago where he is now Professor of Human Development and Psychology and serves as chairman of the Committee on Human Development. His earlier publications include* The Analysis of Fantasy *(1956). The reviewer, George L. Maddox, took his doctorate in sociology at Michigan State University, and in the past has taught at Millsaps College and at Michigan State. He is now Associate Professor of Sociology in the Department of Sociology at Duke University. Also he is Associate Professor of Medical Sociology in the Department of Psychiatry in the Duke Medical Center. In the latter capacity he is a participant in an ongoing research project in geriatrics. He was a Russell Sage Fellow in Medical Sociology, 1960–62.*

THIS BOOK is an important contribution to theory and research on social and psychological aspects of human aging. The authors, who are reporting portions of the findings from the Kansas City Study of Adult Life, focus on the issue of successful aging (morale). Their thesis is that, as a result of decreased interaction between aging persons and others in the social system to which they belong, aging involves an inevitable mutual withdrawal. This decreased participation within and identification with the social structure, they argue, are conditions of maintaining morale among elderly persons rather than the causes of demoralization.

Cumming and Henry are thus critical of prevalent theories of human development which extend to older persons the criteria of successful living appropriate for the middle class, middle aged individuals; that is, expanding life goals, predominantly instrumental activity, and the feeling of being useful or of being wanted. Rather, it is disengagement from, not continuing engagement with, the social structure that is the key to the maintenance of self-esteem among the aged.

Disengagement, which has both social and personality components, is hypothesized to be the modal pattern of adjustment among the aged. The authors do suggest, however, that their theory assumes individuals will have access to the whole culture directly or indirectly and will exercise some freedom of choice in selecting contact with various values and institutions.

This hypothesis and this qualifying assumption, which are potentially contradictory, lead Cumming and Henry to select a random sample of elderly subjects who were neither chronically ill nor bothered by major economic worries. A stratified random sample (N=172) of relatively healthy white persons aged 50 to 70, ranging in status from upper middle to working class, was derived from a large random sample established previously for studying chronic illness in Kansas City. An auxiliary group of subjects (N=107) over the age of 70 was selected by a quota sampling technique so as to approximate the socio-economic distribution of the first sample.

The selection procedure did apparently produce subjects without major economic problems. The median income reported was $6,000. This is considerably above the income for a random cross-section of all older persons in the United States, as reported by Ethel Shanas (Health Information Foundation, Research Series, Number 10). It is less clear that the selection procedure excluded all chronically ill persons, although the authors make this claim and do not control for health in their analysis.

Since random selection does not necessarily produce representativeness, the loss of subjects for various reasons must also be considered. The sample from which the authors initially extracted their sub-sample (N=172) had experienced a 5% refusal rate. The authors themselves experienced a 20% refusal rate initially in their interviewing; and, over the two years in which interviews were conducted, an additional 34% of the subjects were lost. Consequently, exactly what portion and proportion of the older population the findings in the book describe is very much in doubt, although it is clearly a select population that is white, relatively secure economically, and largely free of seriously debilitating chronic illness. There is no basis for extrapolating the findings to elderly persons in general.

With their panel the authors seek to demonstrate that elderly persons can and do increasingly disengage socially and psychologically from the environment without becoming permanently demoralized. The elements of disengagement which they consider are changes in 1) social interaction, 2) pivotal social roles (retirement or widowhood), and 3) ego involvement. The procedures used in assessing the first and last of these changes include thematic apperception tests, adaptations of Parsons' pattern variables, a religious piety scale, and various well-known measures of alienation and morale as well as a new morale scale devised by the authors. Development and evaluation of the instruments used are for

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By ARTHUR J. JONES, available in January, 1963.

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☐ **HUMAN FACTORS IN TECHNOLOGY**

By E. BENNETT, J. DEGAN, and J. SPEIGEL, all of the Mitre Corporation, Bedford, Massachusetts. Available in January, 1963.

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☐ **PSYCHOLOGY: A Study of a Science**

Study II. Empirical Substructure and Relations With Other Sciences
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Volume VI. Investigation of Man as Socius: Their Place in Psychology and the Social Sciences

Edited by SIGMUND KOCH, Duke University. Volumes V and VI avail-Available January, 1963

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the most part carefully reported. While specific objections might be raised about the assumptions which underlie one or another item in the various instruments, the techniques used are occasionally ingenious and seem adequate and appropriate when the exploratory nature of the research is emphasized.

In the proof of their thesis that disengagement increases with chronological age, Cumming and Henry begin with a series of social interaction indices. Curiously, however, having found a general inverse relationship between age and social interaction, the authors substitute age for social interaction in the development of their more elaborate measurement of disengagement. And, even more curious is the fact that at no point in the book is a relationship shown to exist between social interaction indices and morale. This omission is highlighted by the report of Tobin and Neugarten, using data from the same sample ("Life Satisfaction and Social Interaction in Aging," *Journal of Gerontology*, 1961, 16:4), which concludes, contrary to Cumming and Henry, that life satisfaction is not sustained in the face of declining social interaction.

Cumming and Henry focus on age, change in pivotal role, and reduced ego investment as their primary measures of disengagement. They construct four stages of this process: In stage I, the subject is less than 65 years of age, maintains the pivotal work or marital role, and has a psychological investment in the social structure. In stages II and III, one and then two of these characteristics is changed; in the last stage, the subject is over 65, has lost the pivotal social role, and is not psychologically invested in the social structure.

In stages II and III of the disengagement process, mean morale scores do tend to decrease, suggesting that the changes in life experience create a disequilibrium. But in stage IV, the mean morale score is found to be roughly comparable to stage I. The authors conclude that their thesis is tentatively supported by this finding.

Whether or not this finding can be generalized to the elderly population of our society as the modal pattern of aging is highly questionable, in view of the limitations of the panel of subjects studied. Some older subjects do maintain morale in the face of, perhaps, even because of, disengagement. Whether most older persons do, is a question which cannot be answered by this research. But there are also other reservations about the authors' conclusion concerning the positive relationship between disengagement and successful aging (morale).

The use of chronological age, a crude index at best, as a measure of social interaction seems unnecessary and unwarranted in this case. The authors assume too much about the homogeneity of characteristics among persons of the same age. Also, to the extent to which they insist that the older persons in their study are not disabled by chronic illness and are without major economic difficulty, they increase the probability of confirming their hypothesis. Moreover, Cumming and Henry have been much too sparing in reporting the introduction of test factors in their analysis of the hypothesized relationship between disengagement and morale, particularly the factors of health, income, and reported social interaction; such elaboration would seem especially important in the type of cross-sectional analysis which they employ.

These criticisms should not obscure the importance of this book. In spite of its limitations, it is a major contribution to the continuing exploration of stages in human development, the relationship between activity and morale, and to the interrelationship between personality and social systems.

Records For What?

E. Kuno Beller

Clinical Process. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1962. Pp. xx + 394. $10.00.

Reviewed by John J. Conger

The author, E. Kuno Beller, is Director of Research at the Child Development Center in New York City. He received his doctorate at the University of Iowa, has taught psychology at Indiana University, has been a research associate at Columbia University and is perhaps best known for his research in dependency and aggression in children. John J. Conger's biography has not changed a great deal since it last appeared in CP *in August 1962. (p 287) He remains a professor at the University of Colorado School of Medicine, he is still head of the Division of Clinical Psychology and continues to serve as Associate Dean. He reports that he has several times at least tried to use clinical records in his own research but frequently with rather frustrating results. His recent research has concerned itself primarily with the early identification of maladaptive behavior in school children.*

Recently, a woman went to a psychiatrist with the complaint that her friends and relatives thought she was crazy because she liked pancakes. "There is nothing wrong with that," the psychiatrist assured her. "I like pancakes myself."

"Well, then," said the woman, "you must visit me sometime. I have trunks full of them in the attic."

This story reminds the reviewer of the present status of most clinical records. There is certainly nothing wrong with records per se. But there is little point in amassing file upon file of bulging charts, simply for the sake of doing so—with little or no thought given to the nature and future usefulness of their contents.

The files of any clinic or hospital reflect thousands of hours of work, often by highly skilled clinicians. Consequently, one might expect them to provide a rich resource for the derivation and testing of hypotheses about personality development and psychopathology. Typically, however, they do not. The reasons why, together with some specific suggestions for remedying the situation, are the major concern of Dr. Beller's thoughtful book.

In a sympathetic introduction, the author acknowledges the humanistic orientation of many clinicians—an orientation which leads them to place maximum value on the uniqueness of the

individual. It also frequently results in their viewing any attempt to impose formal structure on clinical data in the pursuit of generalizations about behavior as at least, dangerously superficial, and at worst, slightly treasonable. While respecting such concern for the individual, Dr. Beller notes that in practice clinicians do employ nomothetic generalizations even in approaching the individual case, and that, in fact, such generalizations are inherent in clinical theory. He agrees with Allport that the nomothetic and ideographic approaches cannot be viewed as mutually exclusive. If, then, generalizations are to be made, the author argues that we should try to make them more explicit and dependable, through a more systematic ordering of the clinical data on which they depend.

He approaches this task in two ways —first, by asking what sorts of information should logically be sought in compiling clinical records; and second, by developing and testing out a method for evaluating the adequacy of any given set of records for particular clinical or research purposes. Since Dr. Beller himself works in a child development center, both goals are approached within the context of clinical work with children.

In pursuing the first of these aims, the author maintains that current theories and empirical knowledge about personality development and psychopathology have direct implications for optimal record content "at each stage in the clinical process"—from obtaining developmental and family histories to describing diagnostic observations and therapeutic interactions. For each stage, relevant psychological, social, and physiological factors are discussed; previous efforts to record information about these factors are reviewed; and, finally, a detailed *Guide for Recording* is presented.

While some of the author's discussion of the relevancy to a particular stage of certain kinds of information (e.g. prenatal influences, mother-child relationship, patterns of family interaction) may seem to some readers either already obvious or too briefly presented, I do not think this is the crucial point. The fact is that many clinicians, including this reviewer, may sometimes be aware of the potential relevance of certain kinds of information about a child, but may fail to be guided by this knowledge, especially in their record-keeping. Dr. Beller tries to be both consistent and reasonably complete. If it has been shown, for example, that family activity patterns can affect a child's functioning, he tries to include specific information about this area in the appropriate guide.

In general, the eleven *Guides for Recording* which Dr. Beller has evolved —though neither entirely original nor intended as such—have considerable practical value. Obviously, some modification would be necessary for their use in particular settings; obviously, too, revisions will be required in the light of new basic knowledge. However, if most child guidance clinics, school psychology staffs, and similar organizations were to start using them in a consistent, conscientious fashion, the research value of their clinical records would be substantially improved.

In pursuing his second major aim in this book, Dr. Beller has tried to evaluate the adequacy of the clinical records at one child guidance center. This work is probably of somewhat less general interest, since the results are obviously highly dependent on the individual characteristics of the setting involved. Nevertheless, the method employed has promise for other settings, in that it helps to focus staff attention on the clinical information actually being obtained—in contrast to what the staff may think is being recorded, or what would be desirable.

Incidentally, many clinicians could profit by reading the examples of adequate and inadequate coverage of particular information areas provided by the author in connection with this study. How many of us rely on such meaningless phrases as "early physical development," "difficult pregnancy," or "parents were ambivalent," when we could just as well have described the actual events, attitudes and behaviors involved?

Dr. Beller concludes his book by summarizing several investigations which illustrate the use of clinical records as research data.

Reports, Reports

Jack T. Huber

Report Writing in Psychology and Psychiatry. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1961. Pp. xii + 114. $3.50.

Reviewed by Mary Alice White

The author, Jack T. Huber, went from his undergraduate days at the University of Texas to graduate work at Teachers' College, where he obtained his PhD in psychology in 1952. Since then his life has been full of reports, first as a clinical psychologist in the Veterans Administration, then in connection with a Bellvue Hospital project with delinquent and disturbed boys, then in and for two industrial firms in connection with executive appraisal. He is now at Adelphi College, where he is an Associate Professor in the Graduate Division, and among other things, is helping teach students how to prepare reports. Mary Alice White, the reviewer, was serving at the time this review was written as psychological consultant to the Pelham School System in New York. By the time the review is published, however, she expects to be involved in the training of future report writers, for she will become Associate Professor in the School Psychology Program at Teachers' College, Columbia. She began professional life as a Columbia trained experimentalist who turned clinician and then with another turn, moved into work as a school psychologist. She co-authored, with Myron T. Harris, The School Psychologist *(1961), a review of which will soon appear in* CP.

This is one of those books easily overlooked by training supervisors because of its guilelessness and readability. If it were placed in students' hands early enough, this same book could avoid endless pages of pompous confusion.

The author writes to an audience of clinical students in a conversational tone and asks them to construct a logical report which communicates to its read-

ers. A report, he says, "contains what one human being has to say about another human being," and the function of a report "is to answer questions." The virtue of this slim volume should be apparent from these quotations, namely, its simplicity in stating what should be obvious about reports but is rarely made so. Again and again he asks the report writer to be clear about what he needs to say, who his potential reader is, what this reader wants to know, and what kind of language the reader uses. He emphasizes the importance of what we choose to report or to delete, and he deals honestly with the influences of a theory of personality. A hard-shelled experimentalist should find little quarrel with the book's emphasis on making the implied explicit. A soft-shelled clinician might object to having to expose all of his unstated assumptions.

The title of the book appears to be a typical publisher's catch-all. It could be more accurately titled, *How To Write A Clinical Psychological Report.* It deals primarily with reports prepared in clinics and in private practice, a little with industrial reports. One type of report that is neglected, in this reviewer's opinion, is that of a pupil in a school setting. Much of what Dr. Huber says would apply to a school report, but he pays little attention to reporting tests of intelligence and achievement, or to the description of the ways a pupil functions within a school.

The other area to which more attention might have been given is to the legal implications of report writing. The author gives over his last chapter to the problem of confidentiality, but the legal problems are barely touched. The student learning to write clinical reports should be made aware from the beginning that his reports may be subpoenaed, read to parents, or read to the patient. The student needs to be very clear indeed about who is likely to see or hear his report and how this information may be used, not only therapeutically but legally.

Perhaps the fairest way to judge a book of this kind is to ask, "How does it stand up as a report itself?" It stands up well. It is clear, concise, practical, and logical. It, in short, communicates to the reader. It will lack certain things for every reader, as do all reports; some will argue with the author's theoretical stands, but they are, at least, made quite explicit. Psychologists in training who will need to communicate in writing their picture of a person can be off to a good start by reading Dr. Huber's book *first*. From then on, it is up to the supervisor and the trainee to define and refine.

Psychoanalysis of Several Individually

Norman Locke

Group Psychoanalysis: Theory and Technique. New York: New York University Press, 1961. Pp. v + 253. $6.50.

Reviewed by GEORGE H. FRANK

The author, Norman Locke, is a psychologist with a Columbia PhD and very extensive experience as a group psychotherapist. At one time he was Executive Secretary of the Group Psychotherapy Association and now, in addition to his work as a private practitioner in New York, he has a varied pattern of consultantships among which is one with the Group Psychotherapy Center. The reviewer, George H. Frank, went to Florida in the early fifties for his graduate work, which occurred at Florida State University, then left the state, but only for a little while, before returning to the University of Miami where he is now Clinical Assistant Professor of Psychology. The many institutions with which he has never had any connection include the Menninger Foundation and the Florida State Hospital, and CP *erred when earlier it gave him positions at both places* (CP, *Nov. 1961,* **6**, *399-400). CP is quite sure it does not err now in reporting that during his non-Florida four years he was staff psychologist at Topeka State Hospital in Kansas and served as clinical instructor in the Menninger School of Psychiatry in the same city.*

THIS BOOK is written from the point of view that (1) psychotherapy is a process involving "preverbal elements" and, therefore, actually defies valid description, (2) that the object of psychoanalytic psychotherapy is to uncover *the* traumatic incident in one's emotional life, and (3) group psychoanalysis makes no use of group dynamics, ". . . it is the individual who is being treated, not the group" (viii), "The group, as such, does not exist" (23). The only advantage for the group procedure over individual therapy presented by Locke is the members' opportunity to respond to the material presented by each other, and the wealth of material for the psychotherapist to analyze.

Those who pioneered in the application of the psychoanalytic method with groups, such as Lazwell (reported in 1921), did so primarily in response to the need to make psychoanalysis available to more people than was possible with the one-to-one relationship. The orientation was strictly one in which several people underwent psychoanalytic psychotherapy at the same time. This has remained the focus of one line of thinking up to and including Slavson, and constitutes the frame of reference for Locke.

In Lazwell's writing, there was only a glimmer of an idea that group psychoanalytic procedures might serve some psychologically constructive purpose in addition to the logistic one that led to its inception. Lazwell, working with schizophrenic patients, was aware that some were not amenable to the individual

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672 pages *1962* *$7.25*

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approach, and, moreover, that one aspect of the goal of group treatment could be "social adjustment." It remained for another psychoanalyst, Trigant Burrow, in 1925, to postulate the theory that group psychoanalytic procedures constituted a "laboratory" wherein the patient could work through interpersonal difficulties originally learned in the family—a prime social setting. This stream of thought has been the rationale for the group work of such psychoanalysts as Foulkes, Kelman, and Wolf, and is found quite explicitly expressed in a recent book on group psychoanalysis by Wassell. The utilization of group procedures to work through the problems engendered by interpersonal relationships would seem to have face validity and would seem to be an advance over the conceptualization of the group as individuals merely assembled together, as is found in the present work.

It is in the area of clinical method that this book makes its most notable contribution. For example, Locke suggests that acting out behavior may be viewed as containing material the patient cannot verbalize, and, moreover, that it may, at times, reflect healthy exploration with new methods of need gratification. Locke also encourages the therapist to assist the patient to make what are referred to as "secondary communications," i.e., to experiment with the expression of ideas and feelings that are difficult to bring out in the group, communicating these to the therapist by telephone or through written or tape recorded associations. Whether this deprives the therapist of the opportunity to deal with one of the most important aspects of a psychoanalysis, that of analysis of resistance, remains unclear. Locke also suggests ways to obtain increased information regarding transference phenomena. Meetings of patients outside of the formal hours may be utilized to assess their actual image of the therapist, making it possible to compare this with the image as a function of in-the-group interaction, thereby getting at fantasy distortions. Another method is to ask the patient as he reports his dream in the group, to substitute members of the group for those who appeared in his dream. By comparing this content with what members of the family are present in the dream, the therapist may analyze the transference as it appears in relation to group members. In addition to the suggestions relevant to clinical procedure, the book contains a wealth of actual clinical material. Some of this matter is used to elucidate particular points as they appear in the chapters, but more noteworthy is the entire chapter devoted to a verbatim recording of a group session, presented with accompanying analysis, to illustrate the method itself.

Much has been written about group psychotherapy, but little about group psychoanalysis *per se*. Each new work, therefore, has the opportunity of making a unique and meaningful contribution. In spite of the wealth of clinical material and some novelty in approach to the data of group therapy, the book, to this reviewer, seemed to lack vitality in theoretical orientation or presentation. Those acquainted with the bulk of the literature in the area of group psychoanalysis might agree that this book does not compare favorably with previous contributions in this area.

un-American Social Psychology

V. V. Akolkar

Social Psychology: A Study of Mind in Society. London: Asia Publishing House. (U. S. Distr. Taplinger Publishing Co., Inc.) 4th edition, 1960. Pp. 307. $4.50.

Reviewed by George V. Coelho

The author, Professor V. V. Akolkar, is a graduate of Bombay University who started his career as a lecturer in philosophy at Wadia College, Poona, and went on to head the Department of Philosophy at Gujarat College, Ahmedabad, where he served as professor-in-charge of postgraduate teaching in both philosophy and psychology. He writes about himself that he "belongs to the fast diminishing tribe of people who can take equal interest in philosophy and psychology and who, thereby, can perhaps render sound service to both." The reviewer, George V. Coelho, is also a graduate of Bombay University where he received his M. A. with Honors in Latin. He became interested in the psychology of personality through reading Shakespeare, Dostovesky and Kierkegaard and he was led into cultural anthropology through learning French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese as well as some of the Indian languages. He went to the University of London to study psychology and later came to Harvard University, where he received his PhD in social psychology in 1956. After a two year stint of teaching at Haverford College he joined the staff of the National Institute of Mental Health, where he is now employed in the Adult Psychology Branch. He is currently engaged in cross-cultural studies of normal development during the college years, using comparative data from North American, Puerto Rican and Indian students. He is the author of Changing Images of America: A Study of Indian Students' Perceptions) (Free Press, *1958.)*

Persistent issues in social psychology usually include group mind theories, the nature of social learning, the development of social motives, the articulation of individual personality with social systems, and the influence of culture patterns on social perception and interaction. Professor Akolkar deals lucidly with these broad theoretical issues in the first half of his book, using scholarly detail in historical perspective that is often lost to the present-day student.

Defining the scope and methods of empirical social psychology as a positive science, the author brings home its basic data with insightful social observations from the Indian setting. He illustrates how, for example, in anticipation of puberty, the Indian boy, "given the sacred thread enjoys the feeling of personal importance as he takes his last meal with his mother, as he sits by the side of his father who initiates him and

as a piece of cloth is tied round his hitherto exposed waist" (p. 195-196).

The experimental social scientist will be surprised, however, that despite three revisions and enlargements since the book was first published in 1953, there is no reference to standard works, e.g. Lindzey's *Handbook*, the Swanson-Newcomb-Hartley *Readings*, the texts of Asch and Doob, or the older ones of Newcomb, Klineberg and Hartley. It is indeed disappointing that small group research, group dynamics, and sociometry, are not discussed in any depth. For the American scholar these omissions are unfortunate. It would be sobering to re-evaluate the experimental contributions of contemporary social psychology in the light of the author's philosophical intuitions about human nature, man's pervasive social obligations, as well as his cosmic and intrapsychic concerns. On the other hand, the research-minded Indian scholar, reading the chapter on "Attitudes and Prejudices," will miss the range of research techniques and designs, as well as conceptual frameworks useful in the study of intergroup prejudices in Indian or other societies. These omissions reflect the serious cultural lag in the internationalization of social psychology —due in great part to the high economic costs of keeping pace with rapid developments in this field, practically monopolized by the United States. (Lindzey's *Handbook*, for instance, would cost about a quarter of the monthly income of an instructor in an Indian college!)

NEGLECTFUL of significant modern sources, Professor Akolkar nevertheless shows sound judgment and imagination in examining older authorities. He criticizes McDougall—whose *Social Psychology* (1908) was the first book to be published with that title—for his theories of instinct and national character. The author challenges McDougall's assumption that "Indians are, as a race, an intellectual and moral people" and LeBon's conclusion that "Western culture would be positively injurious to them" (p. 264). He wisely observes that "at different times the same nation may choose different 'possibilities of development'," and that "under the impact of Western technology, the consequent rapid industrialization, and labor legislation, India is giving up its proverbial fatalism" (p. 265).

The chapter on Personality nicely divides the book into two major sections, clearly suggesting that in applying the theoretical principles clarified in the first section, systematic attention be given to individual personality as a "development, and in a sense, an achievement." In his key chapters on Social Control and Social Change and Progress (Chs. 10, 11, 16), the author develops the concept of the religious sentiments as "keeping men together and sustaining the social order." He claims, paradoxically enough, that we need "more of science, rather than less of it," in order "to be religious, that is, to realize with our entire being, the bonds between ourselves and the universe" (p. 272). Professor Akolkar suggests that "the evolution of religious consciousness, like that of moral consciousness, is marked by an increasing refinement in man's view of, and relationship with the Unseen. It is also marked by emergence of genuinely spiritual values—both personal and social" (p. 197).

It may be stimulating for the empiricist to reflect on "man's spiritual consciousness and disinterested emotions" from which arise "new concepts of social structure, new values and ideals" (p. 180). On the other hand, it would help the rationalist to take seriously the scientific methodology useful for the measurement of the effects of social and technological change on human relations and mental health. It is regrettable therefore that the author pays scant attention to contemporary empirical research and conceptual tools (e.g. reference group behavior) available for analyzing the psychosocial dynamics of modernization, industrialization, and democratic legislation in India today.

Asia Publishing House has maintained its usual high standards in printing, format and binding and, this reviewer sincerely hopes, will encourage an even more provocative and up-to-date edition of this unusual work in social psychology.

Memorial to Gestalt Psychology

Mary Henle

Documents of Gestalt Psychology. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961. Pp. xi + 352. $8.00.

Reviewed by ROBERT B. MACLEOD

Mary Henle, during her undergraduate days at Smith College, during her graduate period at Bryn Mawr College, during her stay as a research assistant at Swarthmore College and during her professional life since then, has attained both a conceptual and personal familiarity with Koffka, Köhler, Lewin, Wertheimer and other members of the Gestalt group. She is presently a professor in the graduate faculty at the New School for Social Research. Robert B. MacLeod, the reviewer, has had a similarly rich acquaintance with both the ideas and the people of Gestalt Psychology. He studied with Köhler, Lewin and Wertheimer in Berlin in 1928. He worked with Gelb, Goldstein and Wertheimer in 1929. While he was the chairman of the Psychology Department at Swarthmore College from 1933 to 1946 Köhler, Duncker and Wallach joined the teaching staff there, and Wertheimer, Koffka and Lewin were frequent visitors to the campus. Though not all psychologists know it, none will be surprised that Henle, Krech and Crutchfield were among the post doctoral research associates at Swarthmore while MacLeod was there. Equally accurate but perhaps a bit more surprising is the fact that the list of Swarthmore research associates also included Buxton, Lickliker and Neff. Dr. MacLeod is presently the Susan Linn Sage Professor of Psychology at Cornell University.

IN 1922 the first International Congress of Psychology after World War I was held at Oxford University. Two vigorous and fluent young Germans, Koffka and Köhler, presented the case for German psychology. They presented it well. Scientists are probably the first

to heal the wounds that result from international conflict. Certainly, Koffka and Köhler deserve the credit for having reestablished communication in the field of experimental psychology. Koffka and Köhler talked about *Gestalttheorie*, an alternative to the traditional associationism and the emerging behaviorism. It was not clear to the English-reading public that *Gestalttheorie* was only one of several such German protests. Stern was writing from Hamburg, Bühler from Vienna, and G. E. Müller's pupils were being heard from Göttingen. As it happened, thanks in part to Adolf Hitler, it was Gestalt theory that came to represent for us the post-war German psychology. Koffka came to the United States well before the Hitler period. After 1933 the emigration of German psychologists was impressive, and the United States welcomed Köhler, Wertheimer, Lewin, and many other Gestaltists. Gestalt Psychology was properly naturalized during the 1930's.

What has become of Gestalt psychology since then? The textbooks still include it as a "school." The finest fate for a school of psychology is probably to be interred in such a way that the soil is enriched. This seems to have been Gestalt psychology's fate. Murchison's *Psychologies of 1925* contained articles by Koffka and Köhler. Murchison had the happy though that such a volume might be written at five year intervals. With the publication of the 1930 volume it became clear that neither Gestalt psychology nor any other psychology could properly be called a "school," and Murchison wisely abandoned the project. In 1954 a group of Americans and Europeans spent a week at Cornell examining the current state of Gestalt theory. The consensus, as reported by Hochberg *(Psychol. Rev.*, March, 1957) was that the Gestalt stream had merged with the mainstream of experimental psychology, had provided direction but was no longer recognizable as a separate movement. Gestalt psychology, it was thought, had fulfilled a very important mission and had performed a noble service.

Granted, however, that Gestalt theory has been largely absorbed, albeit courteously and not always with full comprehension, it does not necessarily follow that the punch of the Gestalt challenge is not still needed. The atomism of the Newtonian era is still with us. Professor Henle's collection gives us an additional punch. Every article is worth reading, or re-reading, and both teacher and student will find the volume of value. It might be considered as a companion to Ellis' *Sourcebook of Gestalt Psychology* (1938). Ellis assembled and painstakingly condensed the early Gestalt classics. The Ellis book is still invaluable and should be retained in print. Since 1938 most of the Gestalt psychologists have published books which have received wide circulation. There have, however, been a number of significant articles which are in danger of being lost in the periodicals, among them some gems from the pen of Max Wertheimer which too few people have read. Wertheimer wrote too little, but almost everything he wrote should be bound in gold. Miss Henle has made an excellent selection. Too bad, merely, that the book could not have been twice its length.

A reviewer has the right to mingle some criticisms with his compliments. The Wertheimer selections are splendid; the average reader would not ordinarily encounter them, and they give us another glimpse of that extraordinarily sensitive genius. The first chapter, Köhler's APA presidential address, is not Köhler at his best. He was probably at his best in his early *Physische Gestalten* (1924) and in the later *Place of Value in A World of Facts* (1938). Miss Henle might well have featured the anthropology article, which does not appear until Part IV of the book and which too few people have read. The other selections, from Arnehim, from Asch, from Wallach, and from Henle herself, are all worthy. But are these all the Gestaltists? Perhaps the most brilliant of the second-generation Gestaltists was Karl Duncker, who died too young, and who left two very significant articles buried in the *Journal of Phenomenology*. At least one of these, the one edited by Mary Henle herself, should certainly have been reproduced. And there are others, e.g., Metzger, who has written what is possibly the best book on Gestalt theory in any language. But Metzger would have had to be translated.

Let the reviewer be charitable. Miss Henle has done us a great service, and we should be appropriately grateful. This is a good book.

Conformity in Michigan

Edward L. Walker and **Roger W. Heyns** (Eds.)

An Anatomy for Conformity. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1962. Pp. ix + 103. $1.95 (paperback) $3.95 (cloth).

Reviewed by GERALD S. LESSER

Edward L. Walker and Roger Heyns, the editors of and contributors to the present volume, are both University of Michigan psychologists, Walker by importation and Heyns by rearing and retention. Walker, a Stanford PhD, was once a clinician, then a specialist on learning before attacking problems in social psychology. Heyns, except for a period as an aviation psychologist in the U. S. Army Air Force, has been at Michigan ever since his admission to graduate school. Presently he is Dean of the College of Literature, Science, and Arts. An earlier book is The Psychology of Social Adjustment *(1958, CP, Feb. 1959,* **4,** *36-37). The reviewer, Gerald S. Lesser, did graduate work at both Columbia and Yale Universities, receiving his PhD from the latter in 1952. After a post-doctoral fellowship at the Yale Child Study Center, he moved to Adelphi College and is now Associate Professor in the Educational Clinic of Hunter College. In addition to a broad and demanding array of consultantships and of services to organized psychology, he has managed to collaborate with Carl Hovland, Abelson and others on the production of* Personality and Persuasibility *(1959, CP, May, 1960,* **5,** *150), and later, with*

Psychology in the Making

Histories of Selected Research Problems

edited by LEO POSTMAN,

University of California, Berkeley

This unique new text fills a gap which has long existed in undergraduate courses—the need for a strong introduction to the nature of psychological research. Throughout the book emphasis is placed upon *how* research is conducted rather than on the result of research. Each chapter is written by a well-known psychologist, and great events and researchers of the past are brought to life by frequent, liberal quotations from original sources.

1962: 825 pages; $9.00 *text*

Introduction to the Statistical Method

Foundations and Use in the Behavioral Sciences

by KENNETH R. HAMMOND, *University of Colorado*

and JAMES E. HOUSEHOLDER, *Humboldt State College*

Enlivened by 31 numbered boxes that feed the student gems of historical interest or dramatic pronouncements about statistics, this text provides a pleasant introduction to the subject. For reasons easy to appreciate, I like the organization. It begins with its feet on the ground in the theory of measurement and goes all the way to the theory of decision.—Stanley S. Stevens, *Harvard University*

1962; 431 pages; $7.00 *text*

Elements of Psychology

by DAVID KRECH *and* RICHARD S. CRUTCHFIELD

both of the University of California, Berkeley

I believe that this versatile . . . text comes closest of all the introductory texts to achieving the enviable goal of being all things to all teachers of Psychology.

—Theodore M. Madden, *Oregon State University*

758 pages; $7.00 *text*

ALFRED A. KNOPF, *Publisher*

College Department 501 Madison Avenue New York 22

J. Kagan, On Contemporary Issues in Thematic Apperceptive Methods *(1961,* CP, *Jan., 1962,* **7,** *28). He stays interested in child development, in personality, in the development of social attitudes and in the identification of giftedness.*

IN AN EFFORT to organize and integrate their findings, a number of recent programs of research on attitude change and conformity have reported their varied results and conclusions in single volumes. Walker and Heyns's book contains another series of studies on conformity, this series emerging from the collaborative effort of twelve social scientists centered at the University of Michigan. These studies represent collaborative research which is generally well designed, carefully executed, and succinctly reported.

The opening chapter, in discussing conformity as both a practical social problem and as a theoretical scientific one, mentions some possibly constructive implications of conforming behavior, distinguishes between value judgments about conformity and those questions which may be attacked experimentally, and briefly presents a simplified theoretical framework defining conformity and nonconformity as classes of instrumental acts employed to achieve goals which satisfy needs. Succeeding chapters report studies of the effects upon conforming behavior of the relative ambiguity of the stimulus situation, of familiarity with the perceived source and object of the attitude to be influenced, of attractiveness and cohesiveness of the group exerting pressure to conform, of the role of norms in providing problem-solving information, of the relative strength of conflicting achievement and affiliative needs, and of variations in the conditions of differential reward. These empirical reports form the major portion of this small volume.

The closing chapter expands into explicit propositions certain aspects of the theoretical formulation, discusses conformity as the product of interactions between situational and personality variables (while indicating a conviction that situational determinants are more powerful and easier to modify), and stresses the value of laboratory experimentation in the study of conformity. Recognizing the skeletonized character of their theoretical structure, Walker and Heyns defend it on the grounds that it "works" when judged by their empirical findings. Certainly worthy of note is the virtually absolute consistency with which highly significant positive findings confirm their theoretical expectations.

THROUGHOUT this volume, only minimal reference is made to the results of other studies bearing upon the hypotheses tested. There are a few very limited references to Festinger and his colleagues, one reference to Asch, and none whatever to Hovland and his co-workers. Even more surprising (since Atkinson is listed as a participant in this research) is the omission of the relevant work on conformity and needs presented by Atkinson and his colleagues in *Motives in Fantasy, Action, and Society.* Since published collections of programs of research are proliferating rapidly, authors of such collections must take particularly seriously the need to integrate their programmatic findings with those of other investigators. These research programs, even when they deal with identical research issues, seem to spin in their own orbits, each remaining theoretically and methodologically discrete, and profiting little from each other's existence. The absence of any attempt to synthesize its results and conclusions with those of other relevant studies and the omission of reference to the major research findings on conformity constitute the major shortcoming of this volume.

Their lack of attention to the complex results of other research on attitude change leads the authors to some oversimplifications in stating conclusions. In the light of the authors' own numerous references to possible alternative explanations of their own findings, these oversimplified generalizations seem ill-advised.

Other reservations are less serious. The title of the little book seems a rather over-ambitious one that exaggerates the book's comprehensiveness. While the individual experiments described are clearly conceived and well executed, it is difficult to see how any single volume could consider enough of the complex variables and processes to qualify for this title. Merely the fact that all subjects were college students from a limited number of institutions in Michigan should lead us to exercise caution in judging the comprehensiveness of this book's conclusions.

The volume is in general eminently readable. However, by choosing to write for both professional and general readers simultaneously, Walker and Heyns may not fully satisfy either group. Many professional readers will desire additional technical details concerning the experiments conducted. At the same time, it is somewhat questionable that a more general audience will be reached by the level of presentation of this book.

Growth in and through Counseling

Leona E. Tyler

The Work of the Counselor: Second Edition. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1961. Pp. v + 327. $4.75.

Reviewed by JOHN ROTHNEY

The author, Leona Tyler, presently a professor of psychology at the University of Oregon, is well known in many psychological circles. Since her graduate work at Minnesota she has maintained a persisting interest not only in counseling, which concerns her here, but also in individual differences and in aesthetics. She also has been involved with developmental psychology, having co-authored, with Florence Goodenough, Developmental Psychology *(1959). Earlier, she produced* The Psychology of Human Differences *(1947). The reviewer, John Rothney, came out of Canada to take his EdD degree at Harvard University. He has taught at Harvard, at Wellesley College, and since 1939, at the University of Wisconsin. Both his research and his writing concern primarily the*

problems of guidance and development of youth. Of his nine books in this general area, an important one is Guidance of American Youth (1950 *with Bert Roens), a creation which won the award, given by The American Personnel and Guidance Association, for outstanding research. Dr. Rothney is presently involved in several ongoing longitudinal studies in child development and guidance.*

IF A BUSY psychologist were to take time to read only one book to discover what is happening in the counseling area this is the one he should choose. It is a revision of a first edition which appeared in 1951 and, in the process of revision, Tyler has made a good book better.

This textbook is designed for use in the preparation of general counselors rather than for workers in such special fields as vocational guidance, marriage counseling or psychotherapy. The first edition was directed primarily toward those who expected to work in colleges or high schools but the second has been modified to offer assistance to those who may work in many other settings.

Counseling is clearly distinguished from psychotherapy on the one hand and the general processes of education on the other. The key words in counseling are given as *choice, decision* and *plans* while the key word in psychotherapy is personality *change*. The psychological purpose of counseling is that of facilitating development, helping the counselee to understand himself and influencing his development by the choices he makes. The outcome expected of counseling is that the counselee will *do* something and, in doing so, take some constructive action on his own behalf. Since counseling is said to be basically a perceptive task it is not possible to learn to say the right thing at the right time without learning to listen, watch and understand. Emphasis throughout is on perceptions rather than on responses, on understanding persons rather than on techniques. The discussion of such matters is superior to that which appears in any other book in the field.

The research summaries which appear at the end of each chapter, and the impact of research findings on the organization and emphasis within each chapter, distinguish this from all other textbooks in the counseling area. Counseling has long been offered and accepted on faith, and failure to do research has been excused with the statement that it was an art which defied evaluation or investigation. Tyler's emphasis on research may have a salutary effect on those who have used the excuses. There are times when one wishes that she had been more critical of the experimental designs, the procedures employed, the drawing of conclusions, and the stated implications but generally she has accomplished effectively her purpose of summarizing all the research on counseling she could find and evaluating its significance. It appears, however, that when there is conflict between research findings and what counselors have commonly learned to believe, the latter rather than the former dominate the discussion. The hope is expressed that counselors can shift as rapidly as possible to the use of dependable evidence rather than custom or tradition. She finds it heartening that there have been more papers published in which actual research data of some sort are presented during the eight years between editions than had been published altogether during the previous thirty years.

The general excellence of the book is marred by the use of terms which, though widely used by counselors, are misleading or confusing. The author still writes of interest and personality *tests* when she really means inventories, records, blanks or structured interviews. The use of the word *client* throughout tends to defeat the attempt to consider counseling as a decision making rather than a treatment process. The words *ability* and *aptitude* are used without definition and the reader may get the impression that counselees *have* some qualities, traits and interests which can be assessed by measuring instruments, interpreted to the subject and used meaningfully in making decisions and plans. It seems unlikely that students of counseling will question the concept that people have some fixed and finally measured characteristics but, while the author was encouraging the reader to doubt some of what were formerly considered to be sound practices, she might have raised some more serious doubts about interest and personality measurement.

Despite Tyler's emphasis upon the idea that success in counseling depends more upon the personal qualities of the counselor that upon correct use of specified techniques, and despite research findings about the inadequacies of many measuring devices, the reader may still get the impression from the middle chapters that there are valid instruments for measuring personality characteristics and interests of counselees, and that the measures of ability and aptitudes have higher predictive validity than has yet been demonstrated. The developmental concept seems almost to be ignored when measurement is discussed. The longitudinal is replaced by the cross-sectional. This may be due to the fact that counselors, although they talk much about developmental concepts, find it difficult to wait for the development to occur.

This book, despite the objections noted above, is the best in the field. When other books in the area begin to meet the standards that Tyler has set the literature of counseling will be coming of age.

Non-Flowing Thought on Non-Fluent Speech

Dominick A. Barbara (Ed.)

The Psychotherapy of Stuttering. Springfield, Illinois: Charles C Thomas, 1962. Pp. x + 296. $9.75.

Reviewed by LEONARD D. GOODSTEIN

The editor of the present volume, Dominick A. Barbara, is partially identified in the review. His earlier publications include The Art of Listening *(1958) and* Psychological Aspects of Speech and Hearing *(1960). Leonard D. Good-*

stein, the reviewer, received his PhD from Columbia University, is a Diplomate in Clinical Psychology and is both Professor of Psychology and Director of the University Counseling Service at the State University of Iowa. The range of his publications indicates both the breadth and depth of interest in many clinical phenomena including that of stuttering. Among other things, he was one of the co-authors with Wendell Johnson and others, of The Onset of Stuttering *(1959).*

ARE STUTTERERS neurotic or emotionally maladjusted? Is this maladjustment, if present, etiological to the development of nonfluent speech or is the neurosis a consequence of a severe and typically rather disabling handicap? Should stutterers receive psychotherapy or is remedial speech treatment sufficient? Can psychological tests assist either in resolving these theoretical issues or in making practical decisions about the course of the treatment of a stutterer? What are the roles of the several mental health disciplines in the treatment of the stuttering child and adult? The present volume is an attempt to deal with these and a variety of related questions concerning psychotherapy and stuttering.

The text under review is an edited one composed of thirteen separate chapters, each written by a different author. Six of the 14 authors (one chapter has two coauthors) are professional speech pathologists, five are psychoanalytically-oriented psychiatrists, and three are clinical psychologists. The authors not only differ in their background of training and experience but also in their understanding of the etiology of stuttering and in their approaches to psychotherapy with stutterers. This heterogeneity in viewpoint and background is reflected in the disparity of the answers to the several questions posed above, with little or no resolution of the implicit conflicts. Further, the answers to these questions are typically based upon the clinical experience and judgment of the author, frequently documented with illustrations from actual case materials. Unfortunately the dangers inherent in such generalizations are not pointed out for the unsophisticated reader. While the goal of the text was to present the "combined or team approach" to the therapy of stuttering, the book as a whole lacks cohesiveness and a unifying point of view.

Each of the chapters was specifically prepared for the book at the request of the editor, Dr. Dominick A. Barbara, who is a practicing psychiatrist, a graduate of the American Institute for Psychoanalysis, and Head of the Speech Department of New York's Karen Horney Clinic. While Dr. Barbara did not include his specific instructions to his contributors, these were either rather incomplete or were largely ignored by their recipients, at least by a number of them. Several of the chapters are concerned with fairly broad issues that are only tangentially related to the problems of therapy with stutterers, e.g., the significance of psychosomatic symptoms, how verbal behavior can be interpreted in psychotherapy, etc. What is so striking about these chapters is their singular and complete disregard of the primary focus of the book, understanding and treating stutterers.

There is a serious question in this reviewer's judgment about the audience for whom this book is intended. The variability in the level of discourse both between and within chapters will raise problems of interest or understanding for virtually all readers, regardless of their level of technical competence in this area. As one specific example of the within-chapter variability, the section on the diagnostic role of the psychologist is generally non-technical with only a one sentence discussion of the problems of reliability and validity of psychological tests. All this is extremely superficial for the psychologist and probably insufficient for the non-psychologist. The section concludes, however, with the specific technical suggestion that the draw-a-person test is particularly appropriate to use as the first instrument in the diagnostic evaluation of the stutterer.

It will be quite obvious to the reader that each of the chapters was independently prepared with none of the authors cognizant of what their colleagues were including or ignoring. There was no attempt to have the several authors read early drafts of the related chapters and revise their offering in view of what others were saying, a procedure that would increase the usefulness of such contributions enormously. In the present volume the resultant problems of overlap and inadequate coverage are further complicated by the reluctance of Dr. Barbara to avail himself of his editor's prerogatives, even in such technical matters as arriving at a common style of bibliographic reference.

Pavlovians Rend the Iron Curtain

Nathan S. Kline (Ed.)

Pavlovian Conference on Higher Nervous Ability. *(Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences,* Vol. 92, Art. 3.) New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1961. Pp. 813-1198.

Reviewed by DONALD W. LAUER

Nathan Kline, who edits the present volume, is a physician who received his MD from the New York Medical School in 1943 but who went back to graduate work in psychology, receiving a Masters degree from Clark University in 1951. He is currently Director of Research at the Rockland State Hospital in Orangeburg, New York, and among his many books is Psychopharmacology *(1956). Donald W. Lauer, the reviewer, served two years in military service and two more as an industrial engineer with the Kelsey-Hayes Wheel Company before going to the University of Michigan for his graduate work in psychology. After his 1951 PhD he went to the University of Indiana, where he is now an associate professor of psychology. His research reflects his interest in physiological psychology and learning theory.*

THE PUBLICATION reports the proceedings of a conference sponsored jointly by the Academy of Medical Sciences of the U.S.S.R. and the New

harper & row, publishers

Just Published

HYPNOSIS: Current Problems

George H. Estabrooks

Ten authorities on hypnosis have contributed to this symposium illustrating their diverse approaches to the problems of theory and research methodology in the field. Each paper presents a salient problem, studies the present status of research in that area, and describes the method of dealing with the problem which the authority in question considers most satisfactory. **Contributors:** Ernest R. Hilgard, Bernard E. Gorton, Ronald E. Shor, A. G. Yanovski, Seymour Fisher, L. R. Wolberg, Martin T. Orne, M. Erik Wright, Milton H. Erickson, George H. Estabrooks. An appendix contains a panel discussion wherein the authorities consider many of the topics not specifically included in any of the papers. 285 pp. $5.50.

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December

INHIBITION AND CHOICE:

A NEUROBEHAVIORAL APPROACH TO PROBLEMS OF PLASTICITY IN BEHAVIOR

Solomon Diamond, Richard S. Balvin, & Florence Rand Diamond

The first book-length publication in its field, this text presents a synthesis of research in an area in which many new discoveries compel revision of present concepts, and the statement of a fresh point of view for psychology. The concept of neural inhibition is traced in the works of physiologists and psychologists, and the enormous body of relevant neurophysiological research is condensed. Principles governing nervous inhibition are stated, and then applied to problems of plasticity in behavior, including clinical problems of mental defect, behavior disorder, and anxiety, as well as fundamental theoretical issues. 458 pp. $6.50.

Coming in January!

CHILD DEVELOPMENT AND PERSONALITY

2nd Edition

Paul H. Mussen, John J. Conger & Jerome Kagan

This Second Edition includes presentation of case history material from the Fels Research Institute, and a summarizing of the work of Piaget and of material on delinquency, parent-child relations, and intellectual processes.

February

INTRODUCTION TO APPLIED STATISTICS

John G. Peatman

This competently organized and well-written text for a one-semester course is designed to give the student and researcher the basic statistical tools for exploration and discovery in the fields of psychology, sociology, and cultural anthropology. Workbook.

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York Academy of Sciences. The volume may be regarded from various vantage points and in some respects yields somewhat disparate views.

In the introductory remarks Gregory Razran reports that the Soviet Academy favored the confinement of topics to neural aspects of the Pavlovian system. One who regards the volume as "confined" is forced to consider with some awe what might have appeared under the *Pavlovian* heading in the absence of this restriction. And when one recalls that the entire conference took place in a three-day period, one strongly suspects that the participants found the program utterly exhausting.

Clearly this must have been true because of the tremendously high caliber of the great majority of the papers. Seldom does one find in such a collection such a yield of distinguished reports. But one feels that many of the especially worthwhile papers might well have been diluted, expanded, elaborated, and clarified. One suspects that there may have been many suppressed questions following presentations.

The papers are grouped under six major headings: Structure and Function, Cortico-Subcortical Interaction, Deviance and Drugs, Irradiation and Generalization, Psychopharmacology, and Inhibition. While one never really expects complete satisfaction with any such system of classification, one nevertheless finds it disconcerting that the major emphasis in Magoun's extremely worthy first paper of the volume, one that falls in the first of these categories, is on cortical-subcortical relationships, and that the second paper, by Neal Miller, has little, if anything, to do with *structure*, as its rubric here implies. Under the second major category one finds a stimulating biocybernetic paper on unidirectional rate sensitivity, by Manfred Clynes, a report having no particular bearing on cortico-subcortical interaction. These examples, along with the rather puzzling location of Robert Heath's discussion of Snezhnevsky's paper on psychopharmacology several pages before the latter paper appears (presumably through an editor's oversight) emphasize the weakness of the volume in macrostructure.

But whatever the deficiencies in overall structure, these are more than compensated for by the high quality of the individual papers. One treads on dangerous territory when one singles out papers for comment, and doubtless merely reveals one's own interest patterns. Nevertheless—it may be worth a try.

Morrell's paper on the effect of anodal polarization on the firing pattern of single cortical cells reports significant confirmation and extension of earlier findings of Rusinov. He describes retention of imposed rhythmic patterns for periods up to 20 minutes.

Anokhin in an analysis of cortico-subcortical relations demonstrates the inadequacy of the conception of the single form of nonspecific ascending activation, and makes the important proposal of forms of nonspecific activation which act selectively.

Asratyan examines the localization of cortical inhibition in the reflex arc and presents evidence that the conditioned inhibition is localized in the structures of the conditioned connection and not within the stimulus representation.

On the other hand, Kline, in a loose discussion of the relationship between neurophysiology, psychophysiology, psychopharmacology, and other disciplines, arrives by questionable logic at such generalizations as: 1. *"We must answer a question in the same universe of discourse in which we ask it,"* and 2. *"although the environment is necessary for support and maintenance of a universe of discourse, it should only be described if unusual or deviant."* In subsequent discussion Lasagna appropriately comments that Kline might have added the law "Ask foolish questions and you get foolish answers." I would indicate my disapproval of 2, above, by inserting the word *not* before the word *only* in the last clause.

In all, however, the volume merits a prominent position on the bookshelf of anyone interested in the neural aspects of brain and behavior. Although its significance suffers because of publication lag, it represents a distinguished contribution at the neo-Pavlovian frontier.

Varieties of Religious Commitment

Gerhard Lenski

The Religious Factor: A Sociological Study of Religion's Impact on Politics, Economics and Family Life. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1961. Pp. xviii + 381. $5.95.

Reviewed by JOHN HARDING

Gerhard Lenski received his PhD in sociology from Yale in 1950, and is now Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of Michigan. Among his other accomplishments is the co-authoring of an introductory text book in his field. John Harding, the reviewer, received his PhD from another New England institution of higher learning, one located in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and at the very least as well known as Yale. After a spell of military service during and after World War II, he joined the staff of the Commission on Community Interrelations of the American Jewish Congress and was there for a number of years, where he carried out research in the areas of prejudice and intergroup relations. In 1953 he went to Cornell University, where he is Associate Professor of Child Development and Family Relationships. He also has a long standing research oriented connection with the Cornell program in social psychiatry, and has become a specialist in the epidemiology of mental disorder. In addition to his extensive writing he served four years as general editor of the Journal of Social Issues. *At the moment he is collaborating with a sociologist, Howard Schuman, on a book dealing with the measurement of prejudice.*

IN 1959 Charles Glock reviewed the status and prospects of research on religion for the Sociological Society's stock-taking volume *Sociology Today*. He argued for a better system of classifying individuals in terms of their religious commitment, and for studies of the consequences of different types of religious commitment for behavior in

Drawn from psychology and its allied fields, the bulk of the Insight books deal with the following categories: 1) studies of enduring problems in psychology through original sources; 2) selection from their own works by contemporary behavioral scientists; and 3) authoritative discussions of timely, even controversial issues.

DAVID C. McCLELLAND is general editor of Insight Books. Currently Professor of Psychology and Chairman of the Staff of the Center for Research in Personality at Harvard University, he is also an established author in experimental and theoretical psychology. Among his recent books is THE ACHIEVING SOCIETY (Van Nostrand).

Along with Dr. McClelland, Dr. Robert C. Birney of Amherst College and Dr. Richard C. Teevan of Bucknell University are jointly responsible for editing and developing those books in this series devoted to Enduring Problems in Psychology.

Insights 1962

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edited by Robert C. Birney and Richard C. Teevan

Nine papers in this volume trace the origins of contemporary methods used to measure human motivation. Showing the various techniques, the book includes only those papers which have made a significant contribution to the field by being the first to suggest or evaluate a technique at an early stage of its development. **$1.45**

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by Abraham H. Maslow

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by Wendell I. Smith and J. William Moore

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1963 COMING EARLY SPRING

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edited by Robert F. Grose and Robert C. Birney

CONTEMPORARY RESEARCH IN LEARNING
edited by John R. Braun

RESEARCH IN PSYCHOPATHOLOGY
edited by Herbert C. Quay

PSYCHOLOGY IN THE WRY
edited by Robert A. Baker

Insights 1961

THE CRISIS IN PSYCHIATRY AND RELIGION $1.95
by O. Herbert Mowrer

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edited by Robert C. Birney and Richard C. Teevan

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contemporary society. Both needs are met to a very large extent by Lenski's work.

The book is based on a number of surveys in the Detroit metropolitan area, primarily one in 1958 with a probability sample of 656 adults. This was supplemented with a survey of 127 Catholic and Protestant clergymen representing the various churches attended by individuals in the 1958 sample. These data taken together support a view of religion as an active force in contemporary American society, channeled primarily but not exclusively through the influence of the Christian churches.

The heart of Lenski's volume is his classification of types and degrees of religious commitment. The classification involves a crucial but frequently neglected distinction, between the church or religious group considered as a voluntary association and the *socio-religious community*. For Lenski the socio-religious community is the primary concept. Its distinguishing characteristics are within-community selection of friends and marital partners—especially the latter. In present-day Detroit 95 per cent of the population are included in four major socio-religious communities: White Protestants, White Catholics, Negro Protestants, and Jews.

Involvement in the socio-religious community is measured by the proportion of an individual's close friends and relatives who belong to the same community. Involvement in the religious *association*, on the other hand, is indexed by frequency of attendance at corporate worship services. The value of the distinction between these two types of involvement is illustrated in many ways; an outstanding one is the light it sheds on the Jewish community. Here we find a socio-religious group whose members average extremely low on the associational index but at the same time extremely high on the index of communal involvement. Any social scientist who took frequency of synagogue attendance as his primary measure of group identification among Jews would be making a ludicrous error.

Lenski's other major pair of indices describe an individual's personal religious orientation. A measure of *doctrinal orthodoxy* (applicable only to Christians) is based on six questions derived to a large extent from the Apostles' Creed. A measure of *devotionalism* is based on the frequency of personal prayer and the attempt to follow God's will in the conduct of everyday life. Surprisingly, there is only a slight correlation between these two indices.

There follows a detailed examination of the consequences of these various types of religious involvement and orientation for economic behavior, political behavior, and family life. The statistical treatment is competent, and the evidence for possible causal relationship is handled with both care and imagination. One of Lenski's great merits is that he approaches his data in terms of the major theoretical issues posed by the classic writers in this field, especially Max Weber. With the techniques of modern survey analysis he attempts to determine whether the differences in secular behavior between Protestants and Catholics which Weber described for 17th century Europe are still evident in 20th century America. Lenski finds that these differences (and many others) are not only evident but show no signs of diminishing. Like Weber he interprets this finding as indicating the persistent and powerful influence of different types of religious commitment.

This book is undoubtedly a major contribution to the sociological and psychological study of religion.

The Life and Hard Times of the Infant

B. M. Foss (Ed.)

Determinants of Infant Behaviour. New York: Wiley, 1962. Pp. xv + 307. $6.75.

Reviewed by HAROLD W. STEVENSON

Brian Foss, the editor of the present volume, took an MA at Cambridge University and is now a lecturer in Psychology at the Birkbeck College of the University of London. He has a history of interest in animal behavior, physiological psychology and cognition. He also serves as an experimental psychologist for an English organization that conducts market research. The reviewer, Harold W. Stevenson, did his graduate work at Stanford University where, he reports, he learned from Ernest Hilgard that the experiment was the method and from Lois Stolz that children were the subjects for the kind of research he wanted to do and has been doing ever since. In 1959, after seven productive years at the University of Texas, he made what must be regarded as a grievous error in judgment and moved to the University of Minnesota to do battle with the cold winters and to serve as Director of the famed Institute of Child Development where, in the face of all reason and reality, he reports himself happy to be. In addition to his administrative duties he is now deeply involved in a series of studies on the social reinforcement of children's behavior and of children's learning.

THIS VOLUME presents papers and discussions from the Ciba-sponsored, Tavistock-organized study group on mother-infant interaction which met in London in the fall of 1959. John Bowlby was chairman of the group. The participants included researchers studying human and animal infants and clinicians dealing with the pathological consequences of disturbances in early experience. The volume does not give us a definitive or comprehensive statement of the determinants of infant behavior. This would be impossible, for research with infants has been late in getting started. For now, we must be satisfied with a few bold lines and many suggestions. Hopefully, the volume will serve as an impetus to get people busy gathering the data necessary for a more complete picture.

The study group was built around seven prepared papers. In addition, there were several incidental papers: Mavis Gunther describes the ideal breast for infant feeding; Prechtl talks

Volume II of Research in Psychotherapy

Hans H. Strupp
Lester Luborsky
Editors

Proceedings of the Second Conference on Research in Psychotherapy held at Chapel Hill, N. C., in May 1961. Leading research workers in psychology and psychiatry deal with selected research issues and assess new research developments. Their efforts place research in psychotherapy more squarely within psychological research concerned with understanding interpersonal processes.

The psychotherapist's contribution to the treatment process

Measuring personality change in psychotherapy

Definition, measurement, and analysis of significant variables

The book is a follow up of **Research in Psychotherapy**, published by the American Psychological Association in 1959, which reported on the First Conference on Research in Psychotherapy held in Washington, D. C., in 1958.

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briefly about breech babies, hyperexcitable and hypokinetic babies; Appel and David tell us the clinical story of Monique, a case of psychogenic retardation; and Hinde discusses changes in responsiveness during performance.

There were films. And there was discussion. After reading the discussion one realizes that it is hard even for authorities to be profound in impromptu questions and comments. As a consequence, many of the lengthy transcriptions of the discussions should have been dispensed with. It is too much, for example, to wade through six pages of discussion of the casual comments in Hinde's two-page paper.

The prepared papers are a different matter. Although they cover a very broad range of topics, most of them have something important to say about mother-infant interaction, whether the subjects are cats, monkeys, institutional or home-reared human infants.

THE purposes of a conference are most clearly met when integrated reviews or previews of programs of research are presented. Harlow's work is well known, but it is always of interest to read a neatly summarized series of studies; in this case, of the evolution of visual and contactual exploration, the emergence of fear, and the development of behavior from mother-infant through infant-infant interaction. Rosenblatt, one of Schneirla's collaborators at the American Museum of Natural History, gives a preview of a series of unpublished studies on the effects of isolation on cats' suckling and maternal behavior.

Gewirtz offers a theoretical discussion of the learned origins of social motivation and attachment. The paper is long, a bit tedious at times, but generally very interesting. What is left when such concepts as social needs, imprinting, or biologically determined social behavior patterns are discarded? A reinforcement view of mother-child interaction is left, and it is reasonable and astute.

The remaining papers present single studies, and probably would have gotten to us sooner if they had been published through regular channels. Blauvelt and McKenna discuss the methodology of micro-motion analysis of behavior recorded on film and apply the method to the measurement of the neonate's responsiveness to tactual stimuli. Harriet Rheingold adds another to her impressive studies of the effects of environmental stimulation on the responsiveness of home-reared and institutional infants. The pilot studies presented by Ambrose and by Appel and David also deals with the effects of institutional living on infant behavior. The first investigates the emergence of smiling in home and institutional infants; the second, the effects of routine and intensive individualized care on the behavior of infants in an institution.

All in all, it was a good idea to put this conference into print. The conferences are continuing, and we can look forward perhaps to a series of volumes. The determinants of infant behavior will be clearer as more volumes appear.

It's Balance that Counts

Theodore M. Newcomb

The Acquaintance Process. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961. Pp. xvi + 303. $7.50.

Reviewed by HAROLD PROSHANSKY

All psychologists, and a large number of people who are not, know the author, Theodore Newcomb. One fact about his distinguished record of accomplishments and honors that may not be known quite so broadly is that he was the 1962 recipient of the Kurt Lewin Award. The reviewer, Harold Proshansky, worked with both Gardner Murphy and Otto Klineberg before going over to New York University to receive his PhD. He is thoroughly a social psychologist, but shows an abiding interest in interdisciplinary research not only with other kinds of psychologists but with sociologists, anthropologists and psychiatrists. His recent research has concerned the formation of first impressions, work and play cognitions in children and, most recently, problems of ward design and social interaction in mental hospitals. Since 1952 he has been teaching at Brooklyn College but spent a year recently as a special research fellow at the Research Center for Group Dynamics at the University of Michigan.

MAN is a *consistent* animal in the sense that his attitudes, feelings, and behavior are organized in meaningful ways. In any one of a number of conceptual guises, e.g., "balance," "dissonance," etc., this behavioral paradigm has served increasingly during the last decade as a theoretical nexus for the analysis of problems of attitude change, interpersonal relationships, and others. In *The Acquaintance Process* Newcomb presents his systematic endeavors to test his own special brand of consistency theory, the ABX Model.

The model first postulates relationships among intra-individual component orientations (attractions, attitudes, and perceived attitudes of others) which are system-like in character, and therefore, tend toward stability. Under appropriate conditions (attitude importance, etc.) the greater A's attraction for another person B, the greater force or "psychological strain" on A to minimize the discrepancy between his own attitude and his *perception* of B's attitude toward object X. Individual strain, however, among other possibilities, may lead to communications between A and B and thereby to stabilizing changes in either of their attitudes resulting in actual attitude similarity. Thus, the relationships between orientations of different persons have system-like properties and tend toward what Newcomb at the collective level calls "balance." The greater A and B's mutual attraction for

each other the greater the force on the collective to minimize the *actual* discrepancy in their attitudes.

To test these hypotheses Newcomb established a house at the University of Michigan in which seventeen new, male, transfer students lived rent free for one semester in exchange for their participation in the study. They were roughly homogeneous with respect to age, college class, and other factors, and there were approximately equal numbers of Protestants, Catholics and Jews. They lived under circumstances not unlike the usual college cooperative, except that they submitted to four or five hours of testing each week. Testing consisted of observations, questionnaires, interviews, etc., from which were derived measures of attraction, perceived attractions of others, actual and perceived attitudes and general values, authoritarianism, etc. With some variations the study was repeated one year later with another seventeen students. Besides the test of his paradigm Newcomb studied individual differences in strain and balance, their relationships to personality factors, the consequences of balance tendencies for group structure, and other related problems. Here we may only note some of the more significant findings.

In general, both the individual strain and collective balance hypotheses were confirmed. At all stages of acquaintance the greater the individual's attraction for others the greater his *perceived* agreement with them. The predicted positive relationship, however, between degree of actual attitude agreement and strength of mutual attraction presupposes the opportunity for individuals to become familiar with each other's attitudes, and therefore, was found only at the later stages of acquaintance. Little change occurred in student attitudes over the semester, which meant that preacquaintance attitude agreement had determined subsequent mutual attraction—often hypothesized but seldom demonstrated in comparison to its converse.

If A likes himself and has a high attraction for B (or B, C, etc.) then it follows that he should perceive B as being highly attracted to him. Furthermore, his own high attraction for B will persist only if in subsequent interactions B does in fact reciprocate A's high attraction. On this basis Newcomb predicted greater within group *differentiation* in the form of high mutual attraction pairs and triads with increasing acquaintance. It also follows that the total group structure should be more complex and involve increasing larger attraction units at later as compared to earlier acquaintance stages. These and related predictions were confirmed.

"Strain sensitivity" was evidenced by virtually all subjects to some degree; but marked individual differences in these respects which varied with the nature of the attitudinal object and the stages of acquaintance were also quite evident. Authoritarianism emerged as the significant personality variable underlying these differences. In ways that varied with the stage of acquaintance and the attitudinal object involved, nonauthoritarians tended to exhibit greater sensitivity to strain. Furthermore, they achieved balance by allowing their attractions to others to be determined by accurate perceptions of agreement with them; in contrast, authoritarians overestimated agreement in those to whom they were already attracted.

It is not difficult to at least question, if not take issue, with more than a few methodological specifics in the present study. Nor is one always satisfied with those of Newcomb's conclusions derived from results which are not consistent across experimental groups or related measurement indices. The fact remains, however, that there are many strands of acceptable evidence which together make a formidable empirical chain in support of Newcomb's basic hypotheses. What is of concern to the reviewer, however, is not the efficacy of balance tendencies, but rather the question of generalizing the extent of their operation as indicated by the present study. There is one focal methodological issue which bears directly on this problem and which, for some unknown reason, is not discussed by Newcomb at all.

Of significance is the fact that the thirty-four students were intensively tested for fifteen weeks in a context designed to foster close personal relationships. Under these circumstances it is more than likely that they discussed and exchanged information regarding their own test judgments and those of others. We are never told exactly how they were tested or what consequences followed from these experiences. It is conceivable—especially in the case of mutual attraction—that individuals exchanged information on their test judgments and simply agreed to agree in subsequent test situations (for any number of reasons). Of course, it can be argued that these kind of agreements could also reflect the operation of balance tendencies. This may be so, but it simply confronts us with the original problem we raised above. We would argue that balance tendencies might have been far less influential except for the fact that the intensive testing of attractions, attitudes and values fostered a much greater awareness of existing similarities and differences in these respects than if such testing had not occurred.

Accepting the fact that balance tendencies do influence interpersonal relationships, we may still ask how significant it is in relation to other parameters. The fact, for example, that attractions and attitudes may often reflect underlying needs suggests that under certain circumstances the latter may be more significant than balance tendencies. How else can we explain the fact that mutual attraction between husband and wife by no means guarantees similar attitudes toward the husband's mother-in-law. It may well be that balance forces are significant only in relatively temporary, less intimate relationships of the kind studied by Newcomb. But even here we may encounter difficulty. If as Newcomb suggests, attraction refers to degree of favorable feeling (loves, respects, etc.), then "envy" is clearly a negative attraction which may not only involve approach tendencies but is quite likely to lead to perceived similarity—not unlike what occurs in "identification with the aggressor." Aside from conceptual problems, we must still contend with the fact that even in the acquaintance process the significance of balance forces will have to be weighed against

others. It is here that we think Newcomb's study has made an important contribution. In the process of demonstrating the significance of balance tendencies he exposed many of the limiting conditions under which it operates, e.g., individual predispositions, nature of the attitudinal object, etc.

A Mixed Motivational Menu

Marshall R. Jones (Ed.), with **John L. Falk, Philip Teitelbaum, Carl Pfaffmann, W. J. McKeachie, Seymour B. Sarason** and **David Birch**

Nebraska Symposium on Motivation. Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1961. Pp. vii + 210. $3.25 (paper) $4.25 (cloth)

Marshall R. Jones, editor of the present book and of the nine that have preceded it in the University of Nebraska series on motivation, did his doctoral work under Robert Sears at Yale University and, on his way to his present professorship at the University of Nebraska, taught at the Cornell University Medical College, at the University of Iowa, and served for three years as a clinical psychologist in the Navy. The first of the two reviewers, Larry Stein, received his PhD with Kenneth Spence at the University of Iowa and went on to postdoctoral work with Joseph Brady at Walter Reed Hospital. For the past five years he has been involved in research on animal learning, self stimulation and psychopharmacology. For the past three years he has been senior research scientist with the Wyeth Laboratories. In 1961 he received the Bennett Award from the Society of Biological Psychiatry for his outstanding research on psychoactive drugs and on neurobehavioral theory of depression. The second and supplementary reviewer, called in by CP *to deal with the parts of the present book Dr. Stein felt unable to consider, is John Capaldi, who did his graduate level learning at the University of Texas and now, as a faculty member, continues his learning in the same geographic institutional setting. Although primarily an expert on learning, he reads widely and deeply not only in the area of motivation but in almost any other area of psychology anyone can name.*

Reviewed by Larry Stein

This year's publication of the *Nebraska Symposium on Motivation (1961)* has offerings to satisfy every psychological appetite. As usual, the symposium was held in two sections. One was predominately physiological with contributions by J. L. Falk, P. Teitelbaum, and C. Pfaffmann. In the other section, papers by W. J. McKeachie, S. B. Sarason, and D. Birch covered the rest of psychology. My competence as a critical reviewer is limited to the physiological articles and to the paper by Birch on animal learning.

In an erudite article replete with interesting new findings, Falk attacks as oversimplified the notion that homeostasis provides an adequate accounting of behavioral regulatory processes. To make his point, he explores 'obviously homeostatic' behaviors like water and salt intake for possible nonhomeostatic determinants. It is shown, for example, that drinking may be inhibited almost to the point of death if a rat is forced to choose between water or intensely rewarding electrical stimulation of the septal region. At the same time, and by the simple device of slowly doling out its food ration in single 45-mg pellets, it is possible to double or triple a rat's daily intake of water. (The rats take a drink after each pellet, and thereby consume over a period of a few hours as much as 100cc—vs. a normal intake of 27cc.)

Other examples of nonhomeostasis come easily to mind, e.g., preferences for non-nutritive saccharin solutions; even to borrow Pfaffmann's example, the frequency of obesity in our affluent society. Yet, as Falk points out, homeostatic influences on behavior are obvious and seem to be dictated by the facts of natural selection.

These contradictions perhaps may be resolved by assuming a) that brain systems for motivating behavior are under the *direct* control of sensory influences, like sweet tastes (because only they can provide immediate feedback), and b) that the slower-acting homeostatic factors influence behavior *indirectly*, possible by producing shifts in the reactivity of the brain to the different sensory factors. Such a formulation could explain why high intensities of septal stimulation may be preferred to water under conditions of moderate or even intense thirst, but not after severe dehydration shifts the relative reward values of the two incentives.

The extensive literature on the hypothalamic control of eating draws the attention of a widening circle of psychologists as a result of its intimate relation of exciting new areas of research (e.g., Miller's work on motivation, Olds' work on self-stimulation). Teitelbaum's lucid summary of this literature will therefore have widespread usefulness. The summary focuses on the effects of damage to two hypothalamic areas—the medial ("satiety") region and the lateral ("feeding") region, and presents new findings that carry forward the analysis of both areas. Especially provocative is a suggestion that the mediallesion syndrome of overeating and consequent obesity is caused by a defect in weight regulation rather than a defect in the regulation of food intake.

According to this notion, cells in the medial hypothalamus of the normal brain gauge the state of the animal's fat depots (perhaps through a circulating metabolite), and curb intake when the weight level is too high. When these cells are partially destroyed the animal underestimates how fat it really is, and therefore eats more than it should. This

theory finds independent support in studies of operant behavior which indicate that the motivating effect of food deprivation depends critically on the changes induced in body weight.

As indicated above, it is becoming increasingly clear that brain mechanisms for positive reinforcement are activated directly by certain sensory stimuli, especially tastes and smells. At the same time, self-stimulation mapping studies are permitting the identification of the anatomical loci of these mechanisms. Closure between these two sets of data will be provided by a demonstration that self-stimulation structures can be activated by pleasant tastes or smells.

Pfaffmann appears to be only a step away from such a demonstration. Afferent discharges produced by the application of solutions to the tongue of the anesthetized rat were traced in peripheral nerves and in the classical projection system of the brain (medulla and thalamus). These electrophysiological data were shown to coincide with preference-aversion data obtained in behavioral studies if post-injestional factors were eliminated, especially in the case of sugar solutions, and if the resting level of nervous discharge was taken into account in the case of salt solutions.

Similar experiments on unanesthetized rats with permanent electrodes in the hypothalamus and limbic system (i.e., self-stimulation regions) are reported in progress. These studies, hopefully, will fill the gap described above.

BIRCH rejects the classical notion of a passive extinction process—like water leaking out of a container, responses trickle out during extinction in proportion to a reserve build up during acquisition—on the basis of runway data which indicate that extinction is speeded up after overlearning. To account for this and other findings, he proposes a two-factor theory of extinction. One process is somewhat like the classical one, but is expressed in the more contemporary language of incentive motivation (r_g—s_g); thus, extinction of the approach response occurs in part because the tendency to anticipate the reward—an important source of motivation—extinguishes. Invoking this factor merely seems to move the problem back one step, but Birch makes use of it to explain the finding that a moderate amount of training imparts a greater resistance to extinction than a small amount.

The second factor is borrowed from Amsel's theory of frustration. If an animal that is anticipating reward enters an empty goal box it becomes frustrated and makes extraneous responses, which, if generalized to the alley, compete with the approach response. The greater the anticipation of reward, the greater the frustration. Hence overlearning, by increasing expectation, leads to greater frustration and thus more rapid extinction.

This reviewer also finds a frustration theory useful, but prefers a version in which nonreinforcement is viewed as an aversive event that punishes the preceding instrumental act. According to this view, rats quit running to an empty goal box in extinction for much the same reason that they will quit running to a goal box that gives pain shocks. Certainly people find frustration aversive, and certainly much human behavior is motivated by the avoidance of frustration. Birch's data help us to generalize these observations on people to animals.

Reviewed by E. J. CAPALDI

MCKEACHIE's paper supplies an analysis of the classes of variables which determine achievement in a college course and the results of a rather extensive experiment (31 instructors, 609 student *Ss*) which tested the hypothesis that course grades are affected by an interaction between class room cues and student motives. The motives investigated were achievement, affiliation, and power. Other measures included anxiety and ability. The instructor and the general classroom situation were rated as being more or less able to elicit the motives from the students. The experimental results tended to support the hypothesis. While admitting a need for replicating and extending his findings, McKeachie concluded that the experiment identified several important human motives which function in the educational process.

Sarason considers that the problem solving behavior of all individuals, regardless of their cultural origins, can be understood in terms of the same processes. But, he holds, a complete understanding of problem solving depends upon describing contents as well as processes, and specific contents are influenced by individual and cultural experience. By "contents" Sarason means that the contemporary problem, determined by external circumstances, is usually or always accompanied by certain related problems, determined by characteristics of the problem solver. The "accompanying problems", e.g., anatomical sex differences, are universal, occur originally in childhood, and, to a greater or lesser extent, enter consciousness and interfere with solution of the now-presented problem.

The interference value of the accompanying problems depends upon how they themselves were originally solved, which, in turn, is influenced, as indicated above, by specific individual and cultural experiences. Accordingly, differences in problem solving between cultures as well as between individuals of a given culture are understandable not in terms of processes but contents. The contents function importantly in yet another manner. The solution to the early problems will influence our preference for or avoidance of subsequent problems. Although Sarason postulates preference, he does not raise the issue of facilitation, thereby suggesting that the best which can be hoped for from some early solution is that it will interfere minimally with the solution of some subsequent problem.

The general approach described by Sarason is perhaps of more interest at this time to the clinical student or anthropological investigator than to the laboratory man. The former individuals presumably possess the methods and engage in the type of activities appropriate for determining how the early problems were solved.

The Rocky Road to Birth

M. F. Ashley Montagu

Prenatal Influences. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C Thomas, 1962. Pp. vii + 614.

Reviewed by GILBERT W. MEIER

The author, M. F. Ashley Montagu, is a physical anthropologist who has been long interested in the origin, evolution, and development of the physical and cultural creature that is man. He has taught anthropology (at Rutgers University) and anatomy (at the Hahnemann Medical College). For the past 11 years he has not held an academic post but has written widely and extensively. His list of books include The Biosocial Nature of Man *(1956) and* Man in Process (1961). *Gilbert Meier, the reviewer, did graduate work at the University of Illinois but took his PhD degree from Washington University at St. Louis, where he worked both in embryology and in psychology. For eight years he taught psychology at Vanderbilt University before moving, in 1961, to the Laboratory of Perinatal Physiology in San Juan, Puerto Rico. He reports that his interest and his efforts have been entirely comparative in nature, largely developmental in scope.*

DEDICATED "to introduce the reader to an area of experience and of knowledge which must always be of the greatest concern to the individual, to the family, and to society" (p. vii), i.e., "with the life of the human being before birth, and the influences of his experiences within the womb upon his subsequent development" (p. 3) Ashley Montagu's book *Maternal Influences* does, indeed, "cast a rather wide net" (p. viii). A lesser individual, or one more intimately involved in the experimentation and the analysis of these influences, would scarcely have had Montagu's temerity to cover such a vast and complex field presently charted by investigators with such diverse goals, interests, and approaches. Nevertheless, Montagu does try to discover in his book "(1), the effects of the prenatal experience upon the development of the conceptus, and (2), the effects of prenatal experience upon the postnatal physical and psychological or behavioral development of the individual" (p. 11). Moreover, Montagu offers his discoveries "to obstetricians, psychiatrists, behavioral scientists, students of public health, and students of human development." (p. viii)!

Of the three parts, the first, consisting of four chapters, introduces the reader to the problem and the statistics of congenital deformities and infantile death; defines terms; and briefly outlines the physiological and anatomical information pertinent to prenatal development. In a scant 25 pages Montagu takes the reader on a 'Grand Tour' through the processes of conception and prenatal growth—through a 9-month period which he acknowledges to be "a period in the history of the individual which is perhaps more important for his subsequent development than any other in his life." As guide, Montagu gives each landmark its proper name, or names as the case might be, plus some idea of the fundamental concepts in this phase of life. Similarly, in the subsequent 25 or so pages the author covers the structure of the placenta plus the nature of the placental and extraplacental interchange between mother and fetus. As was true of the discussion of embryology proper, Montagu is careful to introduce each new anatomical, biochemical, or physiological term which has any relevance to the placenta as an organ, a morphological or physiological entity, or a secretory mechanism.

To the novice, these 50-odd pages must be overwhelming: the technical trimmings come thick and fast with little meat to sate an appetite for understanding. For the sophisticate, this same treatment must appear superficial. Reflecting upon this presentation through the chapters of the second section, the reader may wonder why these earlier chapters were included in the first place or, at least, why the technical detail was pursued to the extent that Montagu felt necessary.

THE SECOND section constitutes the substance and real contribution of the book. The fifteen chapters which comprise this section range in content from nutritional, through maternal, to physical and radiation factors which could alter fetal health and development as noted at birth or in the years immediately thereafter. Montagu draws his source material for this section from the human obstetrical and pediatric literature, introducing data from laboratory investigations only as they are necessary to enhance a point or to make more credible a proposed causal relation. He has done in this section a masterful job of gleaning (not reviewing) a literature widely dispersed and awe-fully polyglot. Here, precisely, lies the book's greatest strengths and weaknesses. To the laboratory-confined researcher, Montagu's presentation offers a vista of the work and thinking of those investigators pursuing the problems of development at the level of every-day practicality. Regrettably, only a small minority of the studies enumerated were concerned with the "psychological or behavioral development of the individual." Most were limited to an analysis of fetal and neonatal mortalities and malformations. In addition, these studies are rarely, if ever, 'clean.' The researches suffer from inadequacies of statistical design and from the difficulties of differentiating correlation from causal relation (a confusion occasionally shared by the author). Rarely, does the investigator in this realm observe the effect of a single variable, alone and uncontaminated, upon the criterial measures of his choice. However, this facet is, simultaneously, a source of smug delight and of challenge to the behavioral scientist. For example, perus-

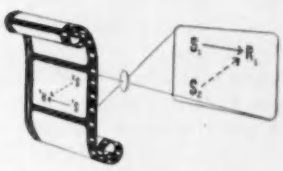
ing the chapter on "Maternal Emotions" the reader is impressed not with the volume of relevant research, which is considerable, but with the possibility that such maternal factors have been operative in even the most exemplary studies cited in the chapters on "Nutrition", "Maternal Age," "Maternal Fatigue," "Maternal Dysfunction," and the rest. (But conversely, each of these latter factors could have been operative, in whole or in part, in any of the studies purporting to show the significance of the maternal emotional state for the development of the fetus.) Only rarely are educational, social, and economic factors *not* complicated in the studies which give the basis to Montagu's work. But these are factors which Montagu did not specifically consider!

THE LAST section, three chapters, deals with the natural conclusion, birth, and summarization of the foregoing with reflections upon the significance and future of it all. By contrast with the immediately preceding chapters, these are more philosophical in nature and have little empirical foundation. Through them appears repeatedly the more familiar psychoanalytic pose of the author, clearly in his discussion of the influence of the birth process, *per se*. The last on "Evolutionary Considerations" goes even further into the realm of speculation; nevertheless, of the three chapters, this last is the most interesting.

As a whole, Montagu's *Prenatal Influences* indicates that its author has read widely, but not deeply. All-too-often, Montagu's descriptions imply a coverage of only the initial studies and not those which have refined, or even refuted, the first proposed relations. For examples one need but scan his presentations on the influence of prenatal or neonatal anoxia, or on the histopathology of kernicterus, or on the implications of irradiation and fallout for fetal growth, or, in the final chapter, on the phenomenon of "voodoo death." If Montagu attempted, merely, to show that prenatal influences exist, he has succeeded, but perhaps too well. The reader upon completion of the tome can only marvel that so many human beings have achieved the state of at least apparent normality.

INSTRUCTIONAL MEDIA

Edited by A. A. Lumsdaine



FL by PL

James S. Holton, Paul E. King, Gustave Mathieu and Karl S. Pond

Sound Language Teaching: The State of the Art Today. New York: University Publishers, 1961. Pp. xi + 249. $5.50.

F. Rand Morton and others

Programming of Audio-Lingual Language Skills for Self-Instructional Presentation. Selected Work-Papers Presented at the First Conference of Language Programmers, April, 1961, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1961 (*Publications of the Language Laboratory, Series Preprints and Reprints,* Vol. VI). Pp. xxxi + 121. $2.00.

Fernand Marty

Programing a Basic Foreign Language Course: Prospects for Self-Instruction. Roanoke, Virginia: Audio-Visual Publications (Box 5497), 1962. Pp. 69. $2.50.

Reviewed by JOHN B. CARROLL

Of the multiple authors of the first of these three works, Holton is assistant professor of Foreign Languages at Sacramento State College, California; King is president of Magnetic Recording Industries, Inc. and Manager of the Education Electronics Division at Thompson Ramo Wooldridge, Inc.; Mathieu is chairman of the Department of Foreign Languages of Orange County State College, California, (and also edits MLabstracts, *which contains abstracts of articles on foreign language teaching); and Pond teaches in the Foreign Language Department of the University of Miami, Coral Gables, Florida. F. Rand Morton, senior author of the second work, is associate professor of Spanish, and formerly was director of the Language Laboratory at the University of Michigan; he also taught English in Chile some time back, and Spanish at Harvard University. Fernand Marty is associate professor of Modern Languages and director of the project on self-instruction in French at Hollins College, Virginia. The reviewer, Carroll, is Professor of Educational Psychology in the Graduate School of Education at Harvard University, where he also directs the Laboratory for Research in Instruction. Author of* The Study of Language, *and editor of Whorf's collected writings (reviewed in* CP, *Mar. 1957,* **2,** *57-58), he has previously reviewed several books for* CP. *A man of many talents, he is outstanding as a psychologist and psychometrician who is also recognized as an authority in linguistics; avocationally he plays the piano with near concert-pianist proficiency. His early work under B. F. Skinner at Minnesota (1937–40) presages his current interest in programmed instruction, especially in the teaching of languages. Currently he is field testing a program for Mandarin Chinese using a rather complex audio-visual instruction device of his own design, which he calls* "AVID."

AFTER the swing to an "oral-aural" (or "audio-lingual") approach in foreign language *(FL)* teaching during World War II, it was a happy circum-

stance that magnetic tape recording techniques soon developed to the point that, starting about 1949, it became feasible to establish "language laboratories"—that is, rooms full of booths where students could individually listen and respond to language tapes. Sales of language laboratory equipment boomed after the National Defense Education Act of 1958 enabled many schools and colleges to buy it with government funds. *FL* teachers at all levels found themselves under pressure to develop materials that could be used in their language laboratories, because for various reasons commercial organizations were slow in meeting the demand for such materials. Even before the burgeoning of "programmed learning" *(PL)* as inspired by Skinner, Crowder, and other psychologists, the creators of language teaching material were thinking seriously about optimal methods of preparing, organizing, and presenting such material. Without using the terms, and without full and conscious appreciation of the concepts, they employed immediate reinforcement, discrimination learning, and minimal-step programming. Their emphasis on linguistic analysis of the material to be taught was in essence directed toward the specification of terminal behavior, with the added feature that the terminal behavior in an *FL* was explicitly contrasted with the behavior represented by the student's native language habits.

Sound Language Teaching (the title seems to be a deliberate pun) represents an effort to formulate the results of practical experience in planning, managing, and utilizing language laboratories and in developing suitable learning materials for them. Oriented chiefly to the problems of language teaching in the high school, it is long on helpful hints, very short on theory or even concrete statements as to what language laboratories can actually accomplish. Part I, almost half the book, is written with the optimism that one might expect from a manufacturer of language laboratory equipment (King), and is concerned mainly with hardware, laboratory management, etc. Parts II and III, written by experienced foreign language teachers, describe and illustrate various kinds of language laboratory exercises that have been found helpful and practical, e.g. "shift drills," "substitution drills," "translation drills," and the like. Many of these drills have features in common with the tasks set in the more recently developed self-instructional programs, but the authors' concept of programming is here limited to "the art of preparing exercises and instructions" (p. 134). The "automated lesson" can be any lesson in which all the instructions and materials are on tape. An essential feature of conventional language laboratory instruction is the control exercised by the teacher or an assistant through monitoring of students' performances and the provision of any corrective suggestions that may be deemed necessary. In the opinion of these authors, *FL* pronunciation cannot be taught by machine alone. Further, they view the language laboratory chiefly as an adjunct to classroom instruction. Normally, new structures and vocabulary items are presented first in the classroom; only afterwards does the student go to the language laboratory for drills on these items. *Sound Language Teaching* may be taken as an approximate description of the procedures that are current in hundreds of language laboratories throughout the United States.

The possibility of learning a second language largely through self-instruction has existed ever since courses on phonograph records became available some thirty years ago (Linguaphone, Assimil, etc.). Some of these courses are reasonably satisfactory; others are nothing more than quick-sale items which contain a very limited amount of language material, are poorly programmed, and never present the language in anything like normal conversational speed. Nevertheless, none of these courses can be regarded as representing *PL* in the full sense of the term.

One of the earliest attempts to develop a behaviorally-engineered program for a foreign language was the work of F. Rand Morton as described in *The Language Laboratory as a Teaching Machine* (1960). Morton frankly approached a language as a series of specifiable behaviors: phonological, grammatical, and lexical (among others). Spanish phonemes, for example, were to be learned as distinct from English phonemes by a process of discrimination learning followed by a process of operant shaping; grammatical patterns were to be learned at first *without meaningful content* as responses to other patterns which normally elicit them. Morton's experimental work took place in 1953-54, with apparent marked success, in the Spanish department at Harvard, quite independently of the work that was going on in the psychological laboratories there.

By 1961, however, programmed instruction in *FLs* had "arrived." One could cite at least a score of serious attempts to program *FL* instruction; *FL* teachers had begun to import the methods of *PL* wholesale, and psychologists sallied into the *FL* field to apply their new-found instructional methods. The series of symposium papers in *Programming of Audio-Lingual Language Skills for Self-Instructional Presentation* exhibit the many facets of these developments. Unfortunately, most of them are essentially progress reports, and few details of actual accomplishments or field trials are given. Morton's sensitive introduction sounds a note of buoyant optimism which carries throughout the symposium: language programmers are confident that they herald a new day in *FL* teaching. The composition of the symposium was about half linguists and *FL* teachers (Stanley Sapon, Paul Pimsleur, Waldo Sweet, Theodore Mueller, Alexander Lermontoff, and C. C. Harris were among those present) and half psychologists (of whom Dale Brethower, George Geis, John Cook, Evan Keislar, Eugene Rocklyn, Harlan Lane, John Gilpin, and Irving Saltzman had papers published in the volume under review).

The linguists are at their best when they discuss linguistic problems of programming; the psychologists are at their best when they discuss principles of behavior as applied to *FL* programming. A wholly adventitious theme of the conference, raised at every opportunity, was the question of whether the use of the paired associate model by some psychologists (including some of the operant conditioning faith) is appro-

priate in audio-lingual language programming. Supporters of this model found themselves very much on the defensive, but the controversy failed to penetrate the question of what is being paired: is the *FL* expression being paired with an English expression, or with a referent or a mediating experience? One hopes, at any rate, that there will be further conferences of language programmers, to resolve this and other questions as well as to provide reports of further progress.

Among the participants in the Ann Arbor symposium was Fernand Marty, an *FL* professor at Hollins College. Although his work was reported orally at Ann Arbor, it appears in published form only in a separate monograph, *Programing a Basic Foreign Language Course: Prospects for Self-Instruction.* Marty's diligent experimentation on language laboratory and self-instructional techniques, carried on for more than ten years, merits serious attention. An earlier publication by Marty, *Language Laboratory Learning* (1960), covers much of the same ground as *Sound Language Teaching* but in a more thorough and satisfactory way. Yet, Marty himself considers it has been made obsolete by his more recent work on *PL*. "The programer's goal is maximum efficiency," says Marty (p. 1). "If we accept this definition of programing, we must conclude that the present foreign language textbooks are not programed since their authors did not make an avowed or consistent effort to maximize efficiency."

Marty lays out principles underlying a French program scheduled for field testing in 1962. He feels that the terminal behavior desired for a program cannot be set arbitrarily, but must be defined by experimentation. Terminal behavior must be described first in terms of auditory phenomena exclusively, and then in terms of the written form of the language. Structures should be presented one at a time rather than in a mélange, as in some other programmed courses. The program is at fault if the students make too many *unexpected* errors, but there are indications that a shock-treatment of planned error-making is a good teaching device. After having tried out a system of total self-instruction for a year, Marty now favors a system of "partial self-instruction": the student spends up to 90% of the time on self-instruction and the rest of the time in small groups with the teacher, who concerns himself chiefly with corrective phonetics and the encouragement of free expression within carefully controlled limits. Experimentation has shown, according to Marty, better results when translation techniques are employed (a partial answer to the paired-associate controversy?).

Marty provides the reader also with lengthy details about actual programming techniques, and about some of the audio-visual equipment he is developing. It is evident that the ideal of maximum efficiency in *PL*, which may mean less work for the student, means more work for the programmer and equipment designer. There is a good prospect that this diligence will be rewarded.

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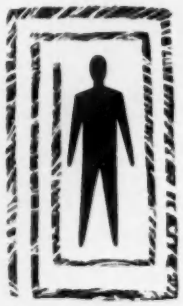

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